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MEMOIRS

OF

THE COURT

OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:
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New-Street-Square.

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MEMOIRS

OF

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THE COURT

OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

By LUCY AIKIN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

SIXTH EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

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MEMOIRS

OF

The Court of Queen Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XVII.

1571 TO 1573.

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From the intrigues and violences of crafty politicians and discontented nobles, we turn aside to trace the prosperous and honorable career of a private English merchant, whose abilities and integrity introduced him to the notice of his sovereign, and whose patriotic munificence still preserves to him the respectful remembrance of

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posterity. This merchant was Thomas Gresham. Born of a family at once enlightened, wealthy, and commercial, he had shared the advantage of an education at the university of Cambridge previously to his entrance on the walk of life to which he was destined, and which, fortunately for himself, his superior acquirements did not tempt him to desert or despise.

His father, sir Richard Gresham, had been agent to Henry VIII. for the negotiation of loans with the merchants of Antwerp, and in 1552 he himself was nominated to act in a similar capacity to Edward VI., when he was eminently serviceable in redeeming the credit of the king, which had fallen to the lowest ebb through the mismanagement of a former agent. Under Elizabeth he enjoyed the same appointment, to which was added that of queen's merchant; and it appears by the official letters of the time, that political as well as pecuniary affairs were often intrusted to his discreet and able management. He was also a spirited promoter of the infant manufactures of his country, several of which owed to him their first establishment. His diligence and commercial talents at length rendered him the most opulent subject in the kingdom, and the queen showed her sense of his merit and consequence by bestowing on him the honor of knighthood.

Gresham had always made a liberal and patriotic use of his wealth; but after the death of his only son, in 1564, he formed the resolution of making his country his principal heir. The merchants of London had hitherto been unprovided with any

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building in the nature of a burse or exchange, such as Gresham had seen in the great commercial cities of Flanders; and he now munificently offered, if the city would give him a piece of ground, to build them one at his own expense. The edifice was begun accordingly in 1566, and finished within three years. It was a quadrangle of brick, with walks on the ground floor for the merchants (who now ceased to transact their business in the middle aisle of St. Paul's cathedral), with vaults for warehouses beneath, and a range of shops above, from the rent of which the proprietor sought some remuneration for his great charges. But the shops did not immediately find occupants; and it seems to have been partly with the view of bringing them into vogue that the queen promised her countenance to the undertaking. In January 1571, attended by a splendid train, she entered the city; and after dining with sir Thomas at his spacious mansion in Bishopsgate-street (still remaining), she repaired to the burse, visited every part of it, and caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet that henceforth it should bear the name of the Royal Exchange. Gresham offered the shops rent-free for a year to such as would furnish them with wares and wax-lights against the coming of the queen; and a sumptuous display was made of the richest commodities and manufactures of every quarter of the globe.

Afterwards the shops of the exchange became the favorite resort of fashionable customers of both sexes; much money was squandered here, and, if we are to trust the representations of satirists and

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comic writers, many reputations were lost. The building was destroyed in the fire of London; and the divines of that day, according to their custom, pronounced this catastrophe a judgement on the avarice and unfair dealing of the merchants and shopkeepers, and the pride, prodigality, and luxury of the idlers by whom it was frequented and maintained.

Elizabeth soon after paid homage to merit in another form, by conferring on her invaluable servant Cecil, — whose wisdom, firmness, and vigilance had most contributed to preserve her unhurt amid the machinations of her implacable enemies, — the dignity of baron of Burleigh; an elevation which might provoke the envy or resentment of some of the courtiers his opponents, but which was hailed by the general applause of the people.

Before the close of the year the death of that corrupt and selfish statesman, the marquis of Winchester, afforded her an opportunity of further remunerating the services of her secretary, by conferring on him an office second to none in dignity or emolument, that of lord-high-treasurer, which he continued to enjoy to the end of his life.

On the first of May and the two following days solemn justs were held before the queen at Westminster; in which the challengers were the earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, sir Henry Lee, and sir Christopher Hatton, — all four deserving of biographical commemoration.

Edward earl of Oxford was the seventeenth of the illustrious family of Vere who had borne that title, and his character presented an extraordinary

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union of the haughtiness, violence, and impetuosity of the feudal baron, with many of the elegant propensities and mental accomplishments which adorn the nobleman of a happier age. It was probably to his travels in Italy that he owed his more refined tastes both in literature and in luxury, and it was thence that he brought those perfumed and embroidered gloves which he enjoyed the honor of being the first to introduce into England. A superb pair which he presented to her majesty were so much approved by her, that she sat for her portrait with them on her hands.

The earl of Oxford enjoyed in his own times a high poetical reputation; but his once celebrated comedies have perished, and two or three fugitive pieces inserted in collections are the only legacy bequeathed to posterity by his muse. Of these, "The complaint of a lover wearing black and tawny," has ceased, in the change of manners and fashions, to interest or affect the reader. "Fancy and Desire" may still lay claim to the praise of ingenuity; the idea however was borrowed from the Italian, and it has since been exhibited with very considerable improvements both in French and English, especially in Ben Jonson's celebrated song, "Tell me where was fancy bred?" Two or three stanzas may bear quotation.

"Where wert thou born, Desire?"
"In pomp and pride of May."
"By whom, sweet boy, wert thou begot?"
"By Fond Conceit, men say."

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" Tell me who was thy nurse?"
" Fresh Youth in sugred joy."
" What was thy meat and daily food?"
" Sad sighs with great annoy."

" What hadst thou then to drink?"
" Unsavoury lovers' tears."
" What cradle wert thou rocked in?"
" In hope devoid of fears," &c.

In the chivalrous exercises of the tilt and tournament the earl of Oxford had few superiors: he was victor in the justs both of this year and of the year 1580, and on the latter occasion he was led by two ladies into the presence chamber, armed as he was, to receive a prize from her majesty's own hand. Afterwards, by gross misconduct, he incurred from his sovereign a disgrace equally public; being committed to the Tower for an attempt on one of her maids of honor. In other circumstances his lawless propensities broke out with a violence which Elizabeth herself was scarcely able to restrain.

On one occasion he openly mustered his friends, retainers, and servants, to take vengeance on sir Thomas Knevet, by whom he had been wounded in a duel; and the queen, who interfered to prevent the execution of this savage design, was obliged for some time to appoint Knevet a guard to secure his life. He also publicly insulted sir Philip Sidney in the tennis-court of the palace; and her majesty could discover no other means of preventing fatal consequences than compelling Sidney, as the inferior in rank, to com-

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promise the quarrel on terms which he regarded as so inequitable and degrading, that after transmitting to her majesty a spirited remonstrance against encouraging the insolence of the great nobles, he retired to Penshurst in disgust. The duke of Norfolk was the nephew of this earl of Oxford, who was very strongly attached to him, and used the utmost urgency of entreaty with Burleigh, whose daughter he had married, to prevail on him to procure his pardon: "but not succeeding," says his biographer, "he was so incensed against that minister, that in most absurd and unjust revenge (though the cause was amiable) he swore he would do all he could to ruin his daughter; and accordingly not only forsook her bed, but sold and consumed great part of the vast inheritance decended to him from his ancestors."[a]

This remarkable person died very aged early in the reign of James I.

Sir Charles Howard, eldest son of lord Howard of Effingham, was at this period of his life chiefly remarkable for the uncommon beauty of his person, — a species of merit never overlooked by her majesty, — for grace and agility in his exercises, and for the manners of an accomplished courtier. At no time was he regarded as a person of profound judgement; and of vanity and self-consequence he is said to have possessed an abundant share. He was however brave, courteous, liberal, and diligent in affairs; and the favor of the queen admitted him, in 1585, to succeed his father in the

[a] "*Royal and Noble Authors.*"

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office of lord-high-admiral. His intrepid bearing, in the year 1588, encouraged his sailors to meet the terrible Armada with stout hearts and cheerful countenances; and the glory of its defeat was as much his own as the participation of winds and waves would allow. In consideration of this distinguished piece of service he was created earl of Nottingham; and the queen's partiality towards her relations increasing with her years, he became towards the end of the reign one of the most considerable persons at her court.

The earl survived to the year 1624, the 88th of his age.

Sir Henry Lee was one of the finest courtiers, and certainly the most complete knight-errant, of his time. He was now in the fortieth year of his age, had travelled, and had seen some military service; but the tilt-yard was ever the scene of his most conspicuous exploits, and those in which he placed his highest glory. He had declared himself the queen's own knight and champion, and having inscribed upon his shield the constellation of Ariadne's Crown, culminant in her majesty's nativity, bound himself by a solemn vow to appear armed in the tilt-yard on every anniversary of her happy accession till disabled by age. This vow gave origin to the annual exercises of the Knights-Tilters, a society consisting of twenty-five of the most gallant and favored of the courtiers of Elizabeth. The modern reader may wonder to find so grave an officer as sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor, included in this number; but under the maiden reign, neither the deepest statesmen, the

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most studious lawyers, nor the rudest soldiers, were exempted either from the humiliating obligation of accepting, and even soliciting, those menial offices in the household usually discharged by mere courtiers; or from the irksome one of assuming, for the sake of their sovereign lady, the romantic disguise of armed champions and enamoured knights. Sir Henry Lee, however, appears to have devoted his life to these chivalrous pageantries rather from a quixotical turn of imagination than from any serious views of ambition or interest. He was a gentleman of antient family and plentiful fortune, little connected, as far as appears, with any court faction or political party, and neither capable nor ambitious of any public station of importance. It is an amiable and generous trait of his character, that he attended the unfortunate duke of Norfolk even to the scaffold, received his last embrace, and repeated to the assembled multitude his request that they would assist him with their prayers in his final agony. His royal Dulcinea rewarded his fatigues and his adoration by the lieutenancy of Woodstock manor and the office of keeper of the armoury, and especially, by the appropriate meed of admission into the most noble order of the Garter. He resigned the championship at the approach of old age with a solemn ceremony hereafter to be described, died at his mansion of Quarendon in Bucks, in 1611, in his 81st year, and was interred in the parish church under a splendid tomb hung round with military trophies, and inscribed with a very long, very quaint, and very tumid epitaph.

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Christopher Hatton, the last of this undaunted band of challengers, was a new competitor for the smiles of royalty; and bright was the dawn of fortune and of favour which already broke upon him. He was of a decayed family of Northamptonshire gentry, and had just commenced the study of the law at one of the inns of court, when hope or curiosity stimulated him to gain admittance at some court-festival, where he had an opportunity of dancing before the queen in a mask. His figure and his performance so captivated her fancy, that she immediately bestowed upon him some flattering marks of attention, which encouraged him to quit his profession and turn courtier.

This showy outside and these gay accomplishments were unexpectedly found in union with a moderate and cautious temper, enlightened views, and a solid understanding; and after due deliberation, Elizabeth, that penetrating judge of men, decided, in spite of ridicule, that she could not do better than make this superlatively-excellent dancer of galliards her lord-chancellor.

The enemies of Hatton are said to have promoted this appointment in expectation of his disgracing himself by ignorance and incapacity; but their malice was dissappointed; whatever he did not know, he was able to learn and willing to be taught; he discharged the duties of his high office with prudence first and afterwards with ability, and died in 1591 in possession of it and of the public esteem. It is remarkable, considering the general predilection of the queen in favour of celibacy,

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that Hatton was the only one of her ministers who lived and died a bachelor.

Early in this year, the king of France married a daughter of the emperor Maximilian; and Elizabeth, desirous at this juncture of being on the best terms both with the French and Imperial courts, sent Lord Buckhurst to Paris on a splendid embassy of congratulation.

Catherine de' Medici took this opportunity of renewing proposals of marriage to the queen of England on the part of her son the duke of Anjou, and they were listened to with an apparent complacency which perplexed the politicians. It is certainly to this negociation, and to the intrigues of the duke of Norfolk and other nobles with the queen of Scots, that Shakespear alludes in the following ingenious and exquisite passage.

.... "Once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a *Mermaid* on a *Dolphin's* back
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song;
And *certain stars shot madly from their spheres,*
To hear the sea-maid's music.
* * * * * *
That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all-arm'd: a certain aim he took
At *a fair Vestal, throned by the West,*
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon,
And the Imperial Vot'ress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free."

Midsummer Night's Dream.

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Unfortunately for himself, the duke of Norfolk had not acquired, even from the severe admonition of a long imprisonment, resolution sufficient to turn a deaf ear to the enchantments of this syren. His situation was indeed perplexing: he had entered into the most serious engagements with his sovereign to abstain from all further intercourse with the queen of Scots: at the same time the right of Elizabeth to interdict him an alliance so flattering to his vanity might plausibly be questioned, and the previous interchange between himself and Mary of solemn promises of marriage, seemed to have brought him under obligations to her too sacred to be dissolved by any subsequent stipulation on his part, though one to which Mary herself had been compelled to become a party. Neither had chivalrous ideas by any means lost their force in this age; and as a knight and a gentleman, the duke must have esteemed himself bound in honor to procure the release of the captive princess, and to claim through all perils the fair hand which had been plighted to him. Impressed by such sentiments, he returned to a letter of eloquent complaint which she found means to convey to him, an answer filled with assurances of inviolable constancy; and the intrigues of the faction were soon renewed with as much activity as ever.

But the vigilance of the ministry of Elizabeth could not long be eluded. An important packet of letters written by Ridolfi, a Florentine, who had been sent abroad by the party to confer with the pope and with the duke of Alva, was intercepted; and in consequence of the plots thus unfolded, the

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bishop of Ross, who bore the character of Mary's ambassador in England, was given into private custody. Soon after, a servant of the duke's intrusted by him with the conveyance of a sum of money from the French ambassador to Mary's adherents in Scotland, carried the parcel containing it to the secretary of state. The duke's secretary was then sent for and examined. This man, who was probably in the pay of government, not only confessed with readiness all that he knew, but produced some letters from the queen of Scots which his lord had commanded him to burn after decyphering them. Other concurring indications of the duke's guilt appearing, he was recommitted to the Tower in September 1571.

After various consultations of civilians on the extent of an ambassador's privilege, and the title which the agent of a deposed sovereign might have to avail himself of that sacred character, it was determined that the laws of nations did not protect the bishop of Ross, and he was carried to the Tower, where, in fear of death, he made full confession of all his machinations against the person and state of Elizabeth. He affirmed that the duke had constantly refused his concurrence to the most guilty parts of these designs; — and in fact, weak and infatuated as he was, the agents of Mary seem to have found it impracticable, by all their artifices, to bring this unfortunate nobleman entirely to forget that he was a protestant and an Englishman. He would never consent directly to procure the death or dethronement of Elizabeth; though it must have been perfectly evident to any man of clear and un-

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biassed judgment, that, under all the circumstances, the accomplishment of his wishes could be attained by no other means.

This affair was regarded in so very serious a light, that the queen thought it necessary, before the duke was put on his trial, to lay all the circumstances of his case before the court of France; and the parliament, which was again assembled after an interval of five years, passed some new laws for the protection of the queen's person from the imminent perils by which they saw her environed.

The illustrious prisoner was now brought before the tribunal of his brother-peers; and a perfectly fair and regular trial, according to the practices of that age, was accorded him. Whatever his intentions might have been, his actions appear to have come clearly within the limits of treason; and the earl of Shrewsbury, as lord-high-steward for the day, pronounced upon him, with tears, a verdict of Guilty. But the queen hesitated, either from clemency or caution, to sign his death-warrant; and he was remanded to the Tower under some uncertainty whether or not the last rigor of the offended laws awaited him.

The name of sir Nicholas Throgmorton was so mixed up in the confessions of the bishop of Ross, that it was perhaps an indulgent fate which had removed him some months previously from the sphere of human justice. He died at the house of the earl of Leicester, and certainly of a pleurisy; but the malevolent credulity of that age seldom allowed a person of any eminence to quit the world without imputing the occurrence, either directly or indi-

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rectly, to the malice of his enemies. It was rumored that Throgmorton had fallen a victim to the hostility of Leicester, which he was thought to have provoked by quitting the party of the earl to reconcile himself with Burleigh; and the suspicion of proficiency in the art of poisoning, which had long attached to the favorite, served as a basis to this absurd report. Possibly there might be more truth in the general opinion, that it was in some measure owing to the enmity of Burleigh that a person of such acknowledged abilities in public affairs, and one who had conducted himself so skilfully in various important negotiations, should never have been advanced to any considerable office of trust or profit. But the lofty and somewhat turbulent spirit of Throgmorton himself, ought probably to bear the chief blame of his want of success at the court of a princess who exacted from her servants the exercise of the most refined and cautious policy, as well as an implicit submission to all her views and wishes. It is highly probable that she never entirely pardoned Throgmorton for giving the lie to her declarations respecting the promises made to the earl of Murray and his party, by the open production of his own diplomatic instructions.

The hostility of Leicester extended, as we shall see hereafter, to other branches of the unfortunate family of Throgmorton, whom an imprudent or criminal zeal in the catholic cause exposed without defence to the whole weight of his vengeance. On some slight pretext he procured the dismissal of sir John Throgmorton, the brother of sir Nicholas, from his office of chief justice of Chester; and he

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did not long survive the disgrace, though apparently unmerited.

The literary propensities of Elizabeth have already come under our notice; they had frequently served to divert her mind from the cares of government; but in the state of unremitted anxiety occasioned by her dread of the machinations connected with the queen of Scots, in which she had found the first peer of her realm a principal actor, her thoughts, even in the few leisure hours which she found means to bestow on these soothing recreations, still hovered about the objects from which she most sought to withdraw them.

The following sonnet of her composition will illustrate this remark; it was published during her lifetime in Puttenham's "Arte of English Poesie," and its authenticity, its principal merit, has never been called in question.

Sonnet *by Queen Elizabeth.*

The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy,
And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy.
For falsehood now doth flow, and subjects' faith doth ebb;
Which would not be if Reason ruled, or Wisdom weaved the web.
But clouds of toys untried do cloak aspiring minds,
Which turn to rain of late repent by course of changed winds.
The top of hope supposed the root of ruth will be;
And fruitless all their graffed guiles, as shortly ye shall see.

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Those dazzled eyes with pride, which great ambition blinds,
Shall be unseal'd by worthy wights whose foresight falsehood finds.
The Daughter of Debate that eke discord doth sow,
Shall reap no gain where former rule hath taught still peace to grow.
No foreign banish'd wight shall anchor in this port;
Our realm it brooks no stranger's force, let them elsewhere resort.
Our rusty sword with rest shall first his edge employ,
To poll their tops that seek such change, and gape for joy.

The house of commons, in which great dread and hatred of the queen of Scots and her adherents now prevailed, showed itself strongly disposed to pass an act by which Mary should be declared for ever unworthy and incapable of the English succession: but Elizabeth, with her usual averseness to all unqualified declarations and irrevocable decisions, interfered to prevent the completion of a measure which most sovereigns, under such circumstances, would have been eager to embrace. To the unanimous expression of the opinion of the house, that the execution of the sentence against the duke of Norfolk ought not to be longer delayed, she was however prevailed upon to lend a more favourable ear; and on June 2d, 1572, this nobleman received his death on Tower-hill.

Norfolk was a man of many amiable and several estimable qualities; and much too good for the faction with which he had been enticed to act and the cause in which he suffered. On the scaffold he acknowledged, apparently with great sincerity,

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the justice of his sentence, and his peculiar guiltiness in breaking the solemn promise which he had pledged to his sovereign. He declared himself to have been an earnest protestant ever since he had had any taste for religion, and in this faith he died very devoutly. By his will he bequeathed his best George, to his kinsman and true friend the earl of Sussex, whose faithful counsels he too late reproached himself with neglecting. The dukedom was lost to the family of Howard by his attainder; but Philip, his eldest son, succeeded his maternal grandfather in the earldom of Arundel; lord Thomas, his second son, (whose mother was the daughter and heiress of lord Audley,) was created lord Howard of Walden by Elizabeth, and earl of Suffolk by James; and lord William, the youngest, who possessed Naworth-castle in right of Elizabeth Dacre his wife, and was known upon the West Border, of which he was warden, by the appellation of "Belted Will," was ancestor to the earls of Carlisle.[a]

The king of Spain had long been regarded in England as the most implacable and formidable of the enemies of Elizabeth; and on good grounds. It was believed to be through his procurement that Sixtus V. had been led to fulminate his anathema against her; — it was well known that the pope had made a donation to him of the kingdom of Ireland,

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[a] "His Bilboa blade, by marchmen felt,
Hung in a broad and studded belt;
Hence in rude phrase the Borderers still
Call noble Howard Belted Will."

Lay of the Last Minstrel.

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of which he was anxious to avail himself; — there was strong ground to suspect that he had sent one of his ablest generals in embassy to England, with no other view than to take the command of the northern rebels, had their enterprize prospered; — and the intimate participation of his agents in all the intrigues of the queen of Scots was notorious. Dr. Wylson, a learned civilian, an accomplished scholar, and one of the first refiners of English prose, had published in 1571, with the express view of rousing the spirit of his readers against this formidable tyrant, a version of the Philippics of Demosthenes; and he had been careful to point out in the notes coincidences in the situation of Athens and of England. The author, who was a zealous protestant, had the further object in this work of paying a tribute to the memory of the learned and unfortunate Cheke; who, during his exile, had read gratuitous lectures to his countrymen at Padua on the works of the great Grecian orator, of which Wylson had been an auditor; and had also made a Latin version of them, by which the English translator had largely profited.

It was principally her dread of the Spaniards which led Elizabeth into those perpetual reciprocations of deceitful professions and empty negotiations with the profligate and perfidious court of France, which in the judgement of posterity, have redounded so little to her honor; but which appeared to her of so much importance, that she now thought herself peculiarly fortunate in having discovered an agent capable of conducting them with all the wariness, penetration, and profound address

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so peculiarly requisite where sincerity and good faith are wanting. This agent was sir Francis Walsingham; whose rare acquisitions of political knowledge, made principally during the period of his voluntary banishment for the sake of religion, and still rarer talents for public business, had induced lord Burleigh to recommend him to the service and confidence of his mistress. For several years from this time he resided as the queen's ambassador at the court of France, at first as coadjutor to sir Thomas Smith; — a learned and able man, who afterwards became a principal secretary of state; and subsequently alone.

There was not in England a man who was regarded as a more sincere and earnest protestant than Walsingham; yet such was at this time his sense of the importance to the country of the French alliance, that he expressed himself strongly in favor of the match between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, and as a minister spared no pains to promote it.

Similar language was held on this subject both by Leicester and Burleigh; but the former was perhaps no more in earnest on the subject than his mistress; and in the end all parties, except the French protestants, who, it is remarkable, looked to the conclusion of these nuptials as their best security, seem to have been not ill pleased when the marriage-treaty was at length laid aside, and a strict league of amity between the two countries agreed upon in its stead.

Splendid embassies were reciprocally sent to receive the ratifications of this treaty; and Burleigh

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writes to a friend, between jest and earnest, that an unexpected delay of the French ambassador was cursed by all the husbands, whose ladies had been detained at great expense and inconvenience in London to contribute to the splendor of the court on his reception. On the 9th of June 1572 the duke de Montmorenci and his suite at length arrived. His entertainment was magnificent: all seemed peace and harmony between the rival nations; and Elizabeth even instructed her ambassadors to give favourable ear to a hint which the queen-mother had again dropped of a matrimonial treaty between the queen of England and her youngest son, the duke d'Alençon, who had then scarcely attained the age of seventeen.

Lulled by these flattering appearances of tranquillity, her majesty set out on her summer progress; and she was enjoying the festivities prepared by Leicester for her reception at his splendid castle of Kennelworth, when news arrived of the execrable massacre of Paris;—an atrocity not to be paralleled in history. Troops of affrighted Hugonots, who had escaped through a thousand perils with life, and life alone, from the hands of their pitiless assassins, arrived on the English coast, imploring the commiseration of their brother-protestants, and relating in accents of despair their tale of horrors. After such a stroke, no one knew what to expect: the German protestants flew to arms; and the subjects of Elizabeth trembled for their countrymen travelling on the Continent, and trembled for themselves in their island-home. The pope applauded openly the savage deed; the court

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of Spain showed itself united hand and heart with that of France,—to the astonishment of Elizabeth, who had been deceived by their feigned enmity; and it seemed as if the signal had been given of a general crusade against the reformed churches of Europe.

For several days, fears were entertained for the safety of Walsingham himself, who had not dared to transmit any account of the event except one by a servant of his own, whose passage had been accidentally delayed. Even this minister, cautious and crafty and sagacious as he was, assisted by all the spies whom he constantly kept in pay, had been unable to penetrate any part of the bloody secret; he was completely taken by surprise. But of his personal safety the perfidious young king and his detestable mother were careful for their own sakes; and not only were himself and his servants protected from injury, but every Englishman who had the presence of mind to take shelter in his house found it an inviolable sanctuary. Two persons only of this nation fell victims to the fury of that direful night; but the property of many was plundered.

The afflicted remnant of the French protestants prepared to stand upon their defence with all the intrepidity of despair. They closed the gates of Rochelle, their strong-hold, against the king's troops, casting at the same time an imploring eye towards England, where thousands of brave and generous spirits were burning with impatience to rush to their succour.

No act would have been hailed with such loud

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and general applause of her people as an instant renunciation by Elizabeth of all friendship and intercourse with the perjured and blood-stained Charles, the midnight assassin of his own subjects; and it is impossible to contemplate without disdain the coldness and littleness of that character which, in such a case, could consent to measure its demonstrations of indignation and abhorrence by the narrow rules of a self-interested caution. But that early experience of peril and adversity which had formed the mind of this princess to penetration, wariness, and passive courage, and given her a perfect command of the whole art of simulation and dissimulation, had at the same time robbed her of some of the noblest impulses of our nature; of generosity, of ardor, of enterprise, of magnanimity. Where more exalted spirits would only have felt, she calculated; where bolder ones would have flown to action, she contented herself with words.

Charles and his mother, while still in uncertainty how far their master-stroke of policy, — so they regarded it, — would be successful in completely crushing the Hugonots, prudently resolved to spare no efforts to preserve Elizabeth their friend, or at least to prevent her from becoming an open enemy. Instructions had therefore been in the first instance dispatched to La Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador in England, to communicate such an account of the massacre and its motives as suited these views, and to solicit a confirmation of the late treaty of amity. His reception at court on this occasion was awfully solemn: the courtiers and ladies who lined the rooms leading to the

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presence-chamber were all habited in deep mourning; and not one of them would vouchsafe a word or a smile to the ambassador, though a man of honor, and one whom they had formerly received on the footing of cordial intimacy. The queen herself, in listening to his message, assumed an aspect more composed indeed than her attendants, but extremely cold and serious. She expressed her horror at the idea that a sovereign could imagine himself under a necessity of taking such vengeance on his own subjects; represented the practicability of proceeding with them according to law; and desired to be better informed of the reality of the treasonable designs imputed to the Hugonots. She also declared, that it would be difficult for her to place reliance hereafter on the friendship of a prince who had shown himself so deadly a foe to those who professed her religion; but, at the suit of the ambassador, she consented to suspend in some degree her judgement of the deed till further information.

Even these feeble demonstrations of sensibility to crime so enormous, she speedily laid aside. In spite of Walsingham's declared opinion, that the professions of the French court towards her were so evidently treacherous that its open enmity was less to be dreaded than its feigned friendship, Elizabeth suffered her indignation to evaporate in a few severe speeches; restrained her subjects from carrying such aid to the defenders of Rochelle as could be made a ground of serious quarrel; and even permitted a renewal of the shocking and monstrous proposal of marriage between herself and

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the youngest son of Catherine. By this shameless woman various proposals were also made for bringing about a personal interview between herself and Elizabeth. She first named England as the place of meeting, then the sea between Dover and Calais, and afterwards the isle of Jersey; but from the first plan she herself departed; and the others were rejected in anger by the English council, who remarked, with proper spirit, that they who had ventured to make such propositions must imagine them strangely careless of the personal safety of their sovereign.

Charles IX. was particularly anxious that Elizabeth, as a pledge of friendship, should consent to stand sponsor to his new-born daughter; and with this request, after some difficulties and a few declarations of horror at his conduct, she had the baseness to comply. She refused, however, to indulge that king in his further desire, that she would appoint either the earl of Leicester or lord Burleigh as her proxy: — not choosing, apparently, to trust these pillars of state and of the protestant cause within his reach; and she sent instead her cousin, the earl of Worcester, "a good simple gentleman," as Leicester called him, and a catholic.

All this time Elizabeth was in her heart as hostile to the court of France as the most zealous of her protestant subjects; for she well knew that it was and ever must be essentially hostile to her and her government; and in the midst of her civilities to the king she took care to supply the Hugonots with such secret aids as should enable them still to persevere in a formidable resistance.

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It is worth recording, on the subject of these negotiations between Elizabeth and the royal family of France, that Burleigh seems to have been encouraged to expect a successful issue by a calculation of the queen's nativity, seen by Strype in his own handwriting, from which it was foretold that she should marry, in middle life, a foreign prince younger than herself; and probably be the mother of a son, who should be prosperous in his middle age. Catherine de' Medici also, to whom some female fortune-teller had predicted that all her sons should be kings, hoped, after the election of her second son to the throne of Poland, to find the full accomplishment of the prophecy in the advancement of the youngest to the matrimonial crown of England. So serious was the belief of that age in the lying oracles of judicial astrology!

Among the English travellers doomed to be eye-witnesses of the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew was the celebrated Philip Sidney, then a youth of eighteen. He was the eldest son of sir Henry Sidney, lord-deputy of Ireland; and from this excellent man and parent he had received, amongst his earliest and strongest impressions, those elevated principles of honor, veracity, and moral purity, which regulated and adorned the whole tenor of his after-life. An extraordinary solidity of character, with great vivacity of parts, had distinguished him from a child, and fortune conspired with genius to bring him early before the public eye.

He was nephew and presumptive heir to the earl of Leicester, by whom he was in a manner

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adopted; and thus patronized, his rapid advancement was anticipated as a matter of course.

It was the practice of that day for parents in higher life to dispose of their children in marriage at an age now justly accounted immature*: and no sooner had young Sidney completed his fourteenth year, than arrangements were made for his union with Anne Cecil, daughter of the secretary. Why the connexion never took place we do not learn: sir Henry Sidney in a letter to Cecil says, with reference to this affair, "I am sorry that you find coldness any where in proceeding, where such good liking appeared in the beginning; but, for my part, I was never more ready to perfect that affair than presently I am," &c. Shortly after, the lady, unfortunately for herself, became the wife of the earl of Oxford; and Sidney, still unfettered by matrimonial engagements, obtained license to travel, and reached Paris in May 1572. Charles IX., in consideration, no doubt, of the influence of his uncle at the English court, gave him the appointment of a gentleman of his bed-chamber, a fortnight only before the massacre. On that dreadful night Sidney took shelter in the house of Walsingham, and thus escaped all personal danger; but his after-conduct fully proved how indelible was the impression left upon his mind of the monstrous wickedness of the French royal

* Thus we find sir George Manners, ancestor of the dukes of Rutland, who died in 1513, bequeathing to each of his unmarried daughters a portion of three hundred marks to be paid at the time of their marriage, or within *four* years after, if the husband be not twenty-one years of age; or at such time as the husband came of age. *Collins's Peerage, by sir E. Brydges.*

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family, and of the disgrace and misery which an alliance with it must entail on his queen and country.

He readily obeyed his uncle's directions to quit France without delay; and proceeding to Frankfort, there formed a highly honorable and beneficial friendship with the virtuous Hubert Languet, who opened to him at once his heart and his purse. The remonstrances of this patron, who dreaded for his youthful friend the artifices of the papal court, deterred him from extending his travels to Rome, an omission which he afterwards deeply regretted; but a leisurely survey of the northern cities of Italy, during which he became advantageously known to many eminent characters, occupied him profitably and delightfully till his return to his native country in 1575; after which he will again occur to our notice as the pride and wonder of the English court.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

1578 TO 1577.

Letters of lord Talbot to his father.—Connexion of Leicester with lady Sheffield.—Anecdote of the queen and Mr. Dyer.—Queen suspicious of Burleigh.—Countesses of Lenox and Shrewsbury imprisoned.—Queen refuses the sovereignty of Holland.—Her remarkable speech to the deputies.—Alchemy.—Notice of Dr. Dee.—Of Frobisher.—Family of Love.—Burning of two Anabaptists.—Entertainment of the queen at Kenilworth.—Notice of Walter earl of Essex.—General favor towards his son Robert.—Letter of the queen to the earl of Shrewsbury respecting Leicester.

GREAT as was the injustice committed by Elizabeth in the detention of the queen of Scots, it must be confessed that the offence brought with it its own sufficient punishment in the fears, jealousies, and disquiets, which it entailed upon her.

Where Mary was concerned, the most approved loyalty, the longest course of faithful service, and the truest attachment to the protestant cause, were insufficient pledges to her oppressor of the fidelity of her nobles or ministers. The earl of Shrewsbury, whom she had deliberately selected from all others to be the keeper of the captive queen; and whose vigilance had now for so long a period baffled all attempts for her deliverance, was, to the last, unable so to establish himself in the confidence of his sovereign as to be exempt from such starts of suspicion and fits of displeasure as kept him in a state of continual apprehension. Feeling with

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acuteness all the difficulties of his situation, this nobleman judged it expedient to cause Gilbert lord Talbot, his eldest son, to remain in close attendance on the motions of the queen; charging him to study with unremitting attention all the intrigues of the court, on which in that day so much depended, and to acquaint him with them frequently and minutely. To this precaution of the earl's we owe several extant letters of lord Talbot, which throw considerable light on the minor incidents of the time.[a]

In May 1573, this diligent news-gatherer acquaints his father, that the earl of Leicester was much with her majesty; that he was more than formerly solicitous to please her; and that he was as high in favor as ever: but that two sisters, lady Sheffield and lady Frances Howard, were deeply in love with him, and at great variance with each other; that the queen was on this account very angry with them, and not well pleased with him; and that spies were set upon him. To such open demonstrations of feminine jealousy was this great queen not ashamed to descend! Yet she remained all her life in ignorance of the true state of this affair, which, in fact, is not perfectly cleared up at the present day.

It appears, that a criminal intimacy was known to subsist between Leicester and lady Sheffield in the lifetime of her lord; in consequence of which, his death, which was sudden, and preceded, it is said, by violent symptoms, was popularly attributed

[a] *Illustrations by Lodge, passim.*

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to the Italian arts of Leicester. Some time afterwards, lady Sheffield bore a son to Leicester, whose birth was carefully concealed for fear of giving offence to the queen, though many believed that a private marriage had taken place. Afterwards, he forsook the mother of his child to marry the countess of Essex, and the deserted lady became the wife of another. In the reign of James I., many years after the death of Leicester, sir Robert Dudley, his son by lady Sheffield, to whom he had left a great part of his fortune, laid claim to the family honors, bringing several witnesses to prove his mother's marriage, and amongst others his mother herself. This lady declared on oath, that Leicester had employed the most violent menaces in order to compel her to form that subsequent marriage which had deprived her of the power of reclaiming him as her husband; and that he had even attempted her life by a poisonous potion, which had thrown her into an illness by which she lost her hair and nails. After the production of this evidence, the heirs of Leicester exerted all their interest to stop proceedings; — no great argument, it may be thought, of the goodness of their cause; — and sir Robert Dudley died without having been able to bring the matter to a legal decision. In the next reign, the evidence formerly given was reviewed, and the title of duchess Dudley conferred on the widow of sir Robert; the patent setting forth that the marriage of the earl of Leicester with lady Sheffield had been satisfactorily proved.

So close were the contrivances, so deep, as it

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appears, the villanies of this celebrated favorite! But his consummate art was successful in throwing over these and other transactions of his life a veil of doubt and mystery, which time itself has failed entirely to remove.

Hatton was at this time ill, and lord Talbot mentions that the queen went daily to visit him; but that a party, with which Leicester was thought to co-operate, was endeavouring to bring forwards Mr. Edward Dyer to supplant him in her majesty's favor. This gentleman, it seems, had been for two years in disgrace; and as he had suffered during the same period from a bad state of health, the queen was made to believe that the continuance of her displeasure was the cause of his malady; and that his recovery, without her pardon, was hopeless. This was taking her by her weak side; she loved to imagine herself the dispenser of life and death to her devoted servants, and she immediately dispatched to the sick gentleman a comfortable message, on receipt of which he was made whole. The letter-writer observes, to the honor of lord Burleigh, that he concerned himself, as usual, only in state affairs; and suffered all these love-matters and petty intrigues to pass without notice before his eyes.

All the caution, however, and all the devotedness of this great minister were insufficient to preserve him, on the following occasion, from the unworthy suspicions of his mistress.

The queen of Scots had this year with difficulty obtained permission to resort to the baths of Buxton for the recovery of her health; and a similar

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motive led the lord treasurer thither at the same time. Elizabeth marked the coincidence; and when, a year or two afterwards, it occurred for the second time, her displeasure broke forth: she openly accused her minister of seeking occasions of entering into intelligence with Mary by means of the earl of Shrewsbury and his lady, and it was not without difficulty that he was able to appease her. This striking fact is thus related by Burleigh himself in a remarkable letter to the earl of Shrewsbury.

Lord Burleigh to the earl of Shrewsbury.

" My very good lord;

" My most hearty and due commendations done, I cannot sufficiently express in words the inward hearty affection that I conceive by your lordship's friendly offer of the marriage of your younger son; and that in such a friendly sort, by your own letter, and, as your lordship writeth, the same proceeding of yourself. Now, my lord, as I think myself much beholding to you for this your lordship's kindness, and manifest argument of a faithful good will, so must I pray your lordship to accept mine answer, with assured opinion of my continuance in the same towards your lordship. There are specially two causes why I do not in plain terms consent by way of conclusion hereto; the one, for that my daughter is but young in years; and upon some reasonable respects I have determined, notwithstanding I have been very honorably offered matches, not to treat of marrying of her, if I may live so long, until she shall be above fifteen or six-

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teen; and if I were of more likelihood myself to live longer than I look to do, she should not, with my liking, be married before she were near eighteen or twenty.

"The second cause why I defer to yield to conclusion with your lordship, is grounded upon such a consideration as, if it were not truly to satisfy your lordship, and to avoid a just offence which your lordship might conceive of my forbearing, I would not by writing or message utter; but only by speech to your lordship's self. My lord, it is over true and over much against reason, that upon my being at Buckstones last, advantage was sought by some that loved me not, to confirm in her majesty a former conceit which had been labored to be put into her head; that I was of late time become friendly to the queen of Scots, and that I had no disposition to encounter her practices; and now, at my being at Buckstones, her majesty did directly conceive that my being there was, by means of your lordship and my lady, to enter into intelligence with the queen of Scots; and hereof at my return to her majesty's presence I had very sharp reproofs for my going to Buckstones, with plain charging of me for favoring the queen of Scots; and that in so earnest a sort as I never looked for, knowing my integrity to her majesty; but, specially, knowing how contrariously the queen of Scots conceived of me for many things past to the offence of the said queen of Scots. And yet, true it is, I never indeed gave just cause by any private affection of my own, or for myself, to offend the queen of Scots; but whatsoever I

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did was for the service of mine own lady and queen, which if it were yet again to be done I would do. And though I know myself subject to contrary workings of displeasure, yet I will not, for remedy of any of them, both decline from the duty I owe to God and my sovereign queen; for I know, and do understand, that I am in this contrary sort maliciously depraved, and yet in secret sort; on the one part, and that of long time, that I am the most dangerous enemy and evil willer to the queen of Scots; on the other side, that I am also a secret well willer to her and her title; and that I have made my party good with her. Now, my lord, no man can make both these true together; but it sufficeth for such as like not me in doing my duty to deprave me; and yet in such sort is done in darkness as I cannot get opportunity to convince them in the light. In all these crossings, my good lord, I appeal to God, who knoweth, yea, I thank him infinitely, who directeth my thoughts to intend principally the service and honour of God; and, jointly with that, the surety and greatness of my sovereign lady the queen's majesty; and for any other respect but that may tend to those two, I appeal to God to punish me if I have any. As for the queen of Scots, truly I have no spot of evil meaning to her; neither do I mean to deal with any titles to the crown. If she shall intend any evil to the queen's majesty, my sovereign, for her sake I must and will mean to impeach her; and therein I may be her unfriend or worse.

"Well now, my good lord, your lordship seeth

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I have made a long digression from my answer; but I trust your lordship can consider what moveth me thus to digress: Surely it behoveth me not only to live uprightly, but to avoid all probable arguments that may be gathered to render me suspected to her majesty, whom I serve with all dutifulness and sincerity; and therefore I gather this, that if it were understood that there were a communication, or a purpose of a marriage between your lordship's son and my daughter, I am sure there would be an advantage sought to increase these former suspicions purpose. Considering the young years of our two children as, if the matter were fully agreed betwixt us, the parents, the marriage could not take effect, I think it best to refer the motion in silence, and yet so to order it with ourselves, that, when time shall hereafter be more convenient, we may, and then also with less cause of vain suspicion, renew it. And in the meantime, I must confess myself much bounden to your lordship for your goodness; wishing your lordship's son all the good education that may be mete to teach him to fear God, love your lordship his natural father, and to know his friends; without any curiosity of human learning, which, without the fear of God, I see doth much hurt to all youth in this time and age. My lord, I pray you bear with my scribbling, which I think your lordship shall hardly read; and yet I would not use my man's hand in such a matter as this is.

[From Hampton Court, 25th Dec. 1575.]

"Your lordship's most assured at command,

"W. Burleigh."[a]

[a] *Illustrations by Lodge.*

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The prudent caution of Lord Burleigh, in the disposal of his daughter, was not imitated by the countess of Shrewsbury; a woman remarkable above all her contemporaries for a violent, restless, and intriguing spirit, and an inordinate thirst of money. She brought to effect, in 1574, a marriage between Elizabeth Cavendish, her daughter by a former husband, and Charles Stuart, brother of Darnley, and next to the king of Scots in the order of succession to the crowns both of England and Scotland. Notwithstanding the rooted enmity between Mary and the house of Lenox, this union was supposed to be the result of some private intrigue between lady Shrewsbury and the captive queen; and in consequence of it, Elizabeth committed to custody for some time, both the mother of the bride, and the unfortunate countess of Lenox, doomed to expiate by such a variety of sufferings the unpardonable offence, in the eyes of Elizabeth, of having brought heirs to the British sceptres.

A signal occasion presented itself to the queen, in 1575, of demonstrating to all neighbouring powers, that whatever suspicions her close and somewhat crooked system of policy might now and then have excited, self-defence was in reality its genuine principle and single object; and that the clear and comprehensive view which she had taken of her own true interests, joined to the habitual caution of her character, would ever restrain her from availing herself of the most tempting opportunities of aggrandizement at their expense.

The provinces of Holland and Zealand, goaded

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into revolt by the bigotry and barbarity of Philip of Spain, had from the first experienced in the English nation, and even in Elizabeth herself, a disposition to encourage and defend them; and despairing of being able longer to maintain alone the unequal contest which they had provoked, yet resolute to return no more under the tyranny of a detested master; they now embraced the resolution of throwing themselves entirely upon her protection. It was urged that Elizabeth, — as descended from Philippa, wife of Edward III., a daughter of that count of Hainault and Holland, from one of whose co-heiresses the king of Spain derived the Flemish part of his dominions, — might claim somewhat of hereditary right to their allegiance; and a solemn deputation was appointed to offer to her the sovereignty of the provinces on condition of defending them from the Spaniards.

There was much in the proposal to flatter the pride and tempt the ambition of a prince; much also to gratify that desire of retaliation which the encouragement given by Philip to the Northern rebellion and to certain movements in Ireland, as well as to all the machinations of the queen of Scots, may reasonably be presumed to have excited in the bosom of Elizabeth. Zeal for the protestant cause, — had she ever entertained this sentiment separately from considerations of personal interest and safety, — might have proved a further inducement with her to accept the patronage of these afflicted provinces: — but not all the motives which could be urged were of force to divert her from her settled plan of policy; and after a short inter-

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val of anxious hesitation, she resolved to dismiss the envoys with an absolute refusal. The speech which she addressed to them on this occasion was highly characteristic, and in one point extremely remarkable.

She reprobated, doubtless with great sincerity, the principle, that there were cases in which subjects might be justified in throwing off allegiance to their lawful prince; and protested that, for herself, nothing could ever tempt her to usurp upon the dominions either of her good brother of Spain, or any other prince. Afterwards, she took upon her to advert to the religious scruples which had produced the revolt of the Hollanders, in a tone of levity which it is difficult to understand her motive for assuming: since it could not fail, from her lips especially, to give extreme scandal to the deputies, and to all other serious men. She said, that it was unreasonable in the Dutch to have stirred up so great a commotion merely on account of the celebration of mass; and that so contumacious a resistance to their king could never redound to their honor; since they were not compelled to believe in the divinity of the mass, but only to be spectators of its performance, — as at a public spectacle. "What!" said she, "if I were to begin to act some scene in a dress like this," (for she was clad in white like a priest), "should you regard it as a crime to behold it?" [a] Was the queen here making the apology of her own com-

[a] *Reidani Annal. Vide Bayle's Dictionary, art. Elizabeth.*

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pliances under the reign of her sister, or was she generously furnishing a salvo for others? In either case, the sentiment, as coming from the grand patroness of protestantism, must be regarded as extraordinary.

An ineffectual remonstrance addressed by Elizabeth to the king of Spain, was the only immediate result of this attempt of the Provinces to engage her in their concerns. She kept a watchful eye, however, upon their great and glorious struggle; and the time at length arrived when she found it expedient to unite her interests more closely with theirs.

England now enjoyed profound tranquillity, internal and external, and our annalists find leisure to advert to various minor circumstances of domestic history. They mention a corporation formed for the transmutation of iron into copper by the method of one Medley, an alchemist; of which the learned but credulous sir Thomas Smith, one of the secretaries of state, was a principal promoter; and in which both Leicester and Burleigh embarked some capital. The master of the mint ventured to express a doubt of the success of the experiment, because the adept had engaged that the weight of copper procured should exceed that of all the substances employed in its production; but nobody else seems to have felt the force of this objection, and great was the disappointment of all concerned when at length the bubble burst.

About the same time the famous Dr. Dee, mathematician, astrologer, and professor of the occult sciences, being pressed by poverty, supplicated

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Burleigh to procure her majesty's patronage for his infallible method of discovering hidden treasures. This person, who stood at the head of his class, had been early protected by Leicester, who employed him to fix a lucky day for the queen's coronation. He had since been patronized by her majesty; she once visited him at his house at Mortlake; took lessons of him in astronomy; and occasionally supplied him with money to defray the expenses of his experiments. She likewise presented him to some ecclesiastical benefices; but he often complained of the delay or non-performance of her promises of pensions and preferment. On one occasion he was sent to the continent, ostensibly for the purpose of consulting physicians and philosophers on the state of her majesty's health; but probably not without some political errand. After a variety of wild adventures in different countries of Europe; in which he and his associate Kelly discovered still more knavery than credulity in the exercise of their various false sciences and fallacious arts, Dee was invited home by her majesty in 1589, and was afterwards elected by her to the wardenship of Manchester-college. But he was hated, and sometimes insulted by the people, as a conjuror; quarrelled with the fellows of his college, quitted Manchester in disgust, and failing to obtain the countenance of king James, died at length in poverty and neglect; — the ordinary fate of his class of projectors.

Elizabeth performed a more laudable part in lending her support to the enterprise of that able and spirited navigator Martin Frobisher; who after

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long soliciting in vain among the merchants the means of attempting a north-west passage to the Indies, was finally supplied by the queen with two small vessels. With these he set sail in June 1576; and though unsuccessful in the prime object of his voyage, he extended considerably the previous acquaintance of navigators with the coasts of Greenland, and became the discoverer of the straits which still bear his name.

A sect called "The family of Love" had lately sprung up in England. Its doctrines, notwithstanding the frightful reports raised of them, were probably dangerous neither to the established church, with the rites of which the brethren willingly complied, nor yet to the state; and it may be doubted whether they were in any respect incompatible with private morals; but no innovations in religion were regarded as tolerable or venial under the rigid administration of Elizabeth; and the leaders of the new heresy were taken into custody, and compelled to recant. Some anabaptists were apprehended about the same time, who acknowledged their errors at Paul's Cross, bearing faggots; — the tremendous symbol of the fate from which their recantation had saved them. Two of these unhappy men, however, repented of the disingenuous act into which human frailty had betrayed them; and returning to the open profession of their opinions, were burnt in Smithfield; to the eternal opprobrium of protestant principles, and the deep disgrace of the governess and institutress of the Anglican Church.

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The observation of lord Talbot, that the earl of Leicester shewed himself more than ever solicitous to improve the favour of his sovereign, received confirmation from the unparalleled magnificence of the reception which he provided for her when, during her progress in the summer of 1575, she honored him with a visit at his seat in Warwickshire.

The "princely pleasures of Kennelworth" were famed in their day as the quintessence of all courtly delight; and very long and very pompous descriptions of these festive devices have come down to our times. They were conducted on a scale of grandeur and expense which may still be contemplated with surprise; but taste as yet was in its infancy; and the whole was characterized by the unmerciful tediousness, the ludicrous incongruities, and the operose pedantry of a semibarbarous age.

A temporary bridge, 70 feet in length, was thrown across a valley to the great gate of the castle, and its posts were hung with the offerings of seven of the Grecian deities to her majesty; displaying in grotesque assemblage, cages of various large birds, fruits, corn, fishes, grapes, and wine in silver vessels; musical instruments of many kinds; and weapons and armour hung trophy-wise on two ragged staves. A poet standing at the end of the bridge explained in Latin verse the meaning of all. The Lady of the Lake, invisible since the disappearance of the renowned prince Arthur, approached on a floating island along the moat, to recite adulatory verses. Arion, being summoned for the like purpose, ap-

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peared on a dolphin four-and-twenty feet long, which carried a whole orchestra in its belly. A Sibyl, a "Salvage man," and an Echo posted in the park, all harangued in the same strain. Music and dancing enlivened the Sunday evening. Splendid fireworks were displayed both on land and water; — a play was performed; — an Italian tumbler exhibited his feats; — thirteen bears were baited; — there were three stag hunts, and a representation of a country bridal, followed by running at the quintin: finally, the men of Coventry exhibited, by express permission, their annual mock-fight in commemoration of a signal defeat of the Danes.

Nineteen days did the earl of Leicester sustain the overwhelming honor of this royal visit; — a demonstration of her majesty's satisfaction in her entertainment quite unexampled; but which probably awakened less envy than any other token of her peculiar grace by which she might have been pleased to distinguish her favorite.

No domestic incident had for a long time excited so strong a sensation as the death of Walter Devereux earl of Essex; which took place at Dublin in the Autumn of the year 1576. This nobleman is celebrated for his talents, his virtues, his unfortunate and untimely death; and also as the father of a son still more distinguished, and destined to a fate yet more disastrous. He was of illustrious descent, deriving a part of his hereditary honors from the lords Ferrers of Chartely, and the rest from the noble family of Bourchier, through a daughter of Thomas of Woodstock youngest son of Edward III. In his nineteenth year he succeeded his grandfather

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as viscount Hereford, and coming to court, attracted the merited commendations of her majesty by his learning, his abilities, and his ingenuous modesty.

During a short period, the viscount was joined in commission with the earls of Huntingdon and Shrewsbury for the safe keeping of the queen of Scots. On the breaking out of the northern rebellion, he joined the royal army with all the forces he could raise; and in reward of this forwardness in her service her majesty conferred on him the knighthood of the garter, and subsequently invested him, after the most solemn and honorable form of creation, with the dignity of earl of Essex; long hereditary in the house of Bourchier.

By these marks of favor the jealousy of Leicester and of other courtiers was strongly excited; but with little cause. The spirit of the earl had too much of boldness, of enterprise, of a high-souled generosity, to permit him to take root and flourish in a court, the scene of so much treachery and intrigue; and it quickly prompted him to seek occupation at a distance, in the attempt to subdue and civilize a turbulent Irish province.

He obtained from the queen, by a kind of agreement then not unusual, a grant to himself and the adventurers under him of half of the district of Clandeboy in Ulster; on condition of his rescuing and defending the whole of it from the rebels, and defraying half the expenses of the service. Great things were expected from this enterprise, on which he embarked in August 1573; but sir William Fitzwilliams, deputy of Ireland, viewed the

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arrival of the earl with sentiments which led him to oppose every possible obstacle to his success. Probably, too, Essex himself found, on trial, the task of subduing the *Irishry* (as the natives of the island were then called,) a more difficult one than he had anticipated. Some brilliant service, however, amid many delays and disappointments, he performed, in various parts of the country; and having returned to England in 1575 to lay all his grievances before the queen, and face the court faction which injured him in his absence, he was sent back with the title of Marshal of Ireland, an appointment which Leicester, for his own purposes, is said to have been active in procuring him.

Sir Henry Sidney had now succeeded Fitzwilliams as lord-deputy; and from him it does not appear that Essex had the same systematic opposition to encounter; on the contrary, having been applied to by the queen for his opinion of the expediency of granting several requests of the earl relative to this service, sir Henry advised her majesty to comply with most of them, prefacing his counsel with the following sentence: "Of the earl I must say, that he is so noble and worthy a personage, and so forward in all his actions, and so complete a gentleman wherein he may either advance your honor or service, as you may take comfort to have in store so rare a subject; who hath nothing in greater regard than to show himself such an one indeed as the common fame reporteth him; which hath been no more, in troth, than his due deserts and painful travels in the

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worst parts of this miserable country have deserved." [a]

Such in fact was the apparent cordiality between the deputy and the marshal, that a proposal passed for the marriage of Philip Sidney to the lady Penelope Devereux, daughter of the earl: but if the friendship had ever been sincere on the part of sir Henry, it was at least short-lived; for, writing a few months after Essex's death to Leicester, respecting the earl of Ormond, whom the favorite regarded as his enemy, he says .... "In fine, my lord, I am ready to accord with him; but, my most dear lord and brother, be you upon your keeping for him; for, if Essex had lived, you should have found him as violent an enemy as his heart, power, and cunning would have served him to have been; and for that their malice, I take God to record, I could brook neither of them both." [b]

During the whole of Elizabeth's reign, Ireland was that part of her dominions which it cost her most trouble to govern; and with which her system of policy prospered the least. Without a considerable military force it was impossible to bring into subjection those parts of the country which still remained in a state of barbarism under the sway of native chieftains, or even to preserve in safety and civility such districts as were already reclaimed and brought within the English pale. But the queen's parsimony, or, more truly, the narrowness of her income, caused her perpetually to repine at the great expenses to which she was put

[a] *Sidney Papers*, vol. i. [b] *Ibid.* vol. i.

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for this service, and frequently to run the risk of losing all that had been slowly gained, by a sudden withdrawment, or long delay, of the necessary supplies. Her suspicious temper caused her likewise to lend ready ear to the complaints, whether well or ill founded, which were brought by the disaffected Irish against her officers. Sir Henry Sidney himself, the deputy whom she most favored and trusted, and continued longer in office than any other, supported as he was at court by the potent influence of Leicester and the steady friendship of Burleigh, had many causes offered him of vexation and discontent: and those who held inferior commands, and were less ably protected from the attacks of their enemies, experienced almost insupportable anxieties from counteractions, difficulties, and hardships of every kind. Of these the unfortunate earl of Essex had his full share.

The hopes of improving his fortune, with which he had entered upon the service, were so far from being realized that he found himself sinking continually deeper in debt. His efforts against the rebels were by no means uniformly successful. His court enemies contrived to divert most of the succours designed him by his sovereign, and the perplexities of his situation went on accumulating instead of diminishing. The bodily fatigue which he endured in the prosecution of his designs joined to the anguish of a wounded spirit, undermined at length the powers of his constitution; and after repeated attacks he was carried off by a dysentery in September 1576.

Essex was liberal, affable, brave and eloquent;

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and generally beloved both in England and Ireland. The symptoms of his disease, though such as exposure to the pestilential damps of the climate might well have produced, were also susceptible of being ascribed to poison; and one of his attendants, a clergyman who intermeddled in medicine, seeing him in great pain, suddenly exclaimed; "By the mass, my lord, you are poisoned!" The report spread like wild-fire. To common minds it is a sensible relief under irremediable misfortune to find some object for blame; and accordingly, though no direct evidence of the fact was produced, it was universally believed that some villain had administered to him "an ill drink."

As Leicester was known to be his enemy; strongly suspected of an intrigue with his wife; and believed capable of any enormity; the friends and partisans of Essex seem immediately to have pointed at him as the contriver of his death; but we find no contemporary evidence of the imputation, except in the conduct of sir Henry Sidney on this occasion; which indicates great anxiety for the reputation of his patron and brother-in-law.

The lord deputy was absent from Dublin at the time of the earl of Essex's death; and before he could institute a regular examination into the manner of it, a thousand false tales had been circulated, which were greedily received by the public. On his return, however, he entered into the investigation, seemingly with great zeal and diligence: — the decisive test of an examination of the body was not indeed applied; for it was one with which that age seems to have been unac-

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quainted; but many witnesses were called; reports were traced to their source, and in some instances disproved; and the result of the whole was transmitted by the deputy to the privy council, in a letter which appears satisfactorily to prove, that there was no solid ground to ascribe the event to any but natural causes. That the deputy himself was convinced of the correctness of this opinion, is seen from one of his private letters to Leicester, published long after in the Sidney Papers.

In all probability, posterity would scarcely have heard of this imputation on the character of Leicester, had not his marriage with the widow of Essex served as corroboration of the charge, and given occasion to the malicious comments of the author of "Leicester's Commonwealth." This union, however, was not publicly celebrated till two years afterwards; and we have no certain authority for the fact of the criminal connexion of the parties during the life of the earl of Essex; nor for the private marriage said to have been huddled up with indecent precipitation on his decease.

Walter, earl of Essex, left Robert his son and successor, then in the tenth year of his age, to the care and protection of the earl of Sussex and lord Burleigh; but Mr. Edward Waterhouse, a person of great merit and abilities, then employed in Ireland, and distinguished by the favor both of lord Burleigh and sir Henry Sidney, had the immediate management of the fortune and affairs of the minor. Of this friend Essex is related to have taken leave in his last moments with many kisses, exclaiming,

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"O my Ned, my Ned, farewell! thou art the faithfullest and friendliest gentleman that ever I knew." He proved the fidelity of his attachment by attending the body of the earl to Wales, whither it was conveyed for interment; and it was thence that he immediately afterwards addressed to sir Henry Sidney a letter, of which the following is an extract.

"The state of the earl of Essex, being best known to myself, doth require my travel for a time in his causes; but my burden cannot be great when every man putteth to his helping hand. Her majesty hath bestowed upon the young earl his marriage, and all his father's rules in Wales; and promiseth the remission of his debt. The lords do generally favor and further him; some for the trust reposed; some for love to the father; others for affinity with the child; and some for other causes. All these lords that wish well to the children, and, I suppose, all the best sort of the English lords besides, do expect what will become of the treaty between Mr. Philip and my lady Penelope.

"Truly, my lord, I must say to your lordship, as I have said to my lord of Leicester and Mr. Philip, the breaking off of this match, if the default be on your parts, will turn to more dishonor than can be repaired with any other marriage in England. And I protest unto your lordship, I do not think that there is at this day so strong a man in England of friends as the little earl of Essex; nor any man more lamented than his father since the death of king Edward." [a]

[a] *Sidney Papers.*

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Under such high auspices, and with such a general consent of men's minds in his favor, did the celebrated, the rash, the lamented Essex commence his brief and ill-starred course! The match between Philip Sidney and lady Penelope Devereux was finally broken off, as Waterhouse seems to have apprehended. She was married to lord Rich; and afterwards to Charles Blount, earl of Devonshire, on whose account she had been divorced from her first husband.

How little all the dark suspicions and sinister reports to which the death of the earl of Essex had given occasion, were able to influence the mind of Elizabeth against the man of her heart, may appear by the tenor of an extraordinary letter written by her in June, 1577, to the earl and countess of Shrewsbury.

"Our very good cousins;

"Being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester how honourably he was not only lately received by you our cousin the countess at Chatsworth; and his diet by you both discharged at Buxton's; but also presented with a very rare present, we should do him great wrong (holding him in that place of favor we do) in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him but to our own self; reputing him as another self; and therefore ye may assure yourselves that we, taking upon us the debt, not as his but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge the same in such honourable sort as so well deserv-

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ing creditors as ye shall never have cause to think ye have met with an ungrateful debtor," &c.

Lord Talbot, on another occasion, urged upon his father the policy of ingratiating himself with Leicester by a pressing invitation to Chatsworth; adding, moreover, that he did not believe it would greatly either further or hinder his going into that part of the country.

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CHAPTER XIX.

1577 TO 1582.

Relations of the queen with France and Spain. — She sends succours to the Dutch — is entertained by Leicester, and celebrated in verse by P. Sidney. — Her visit to Norwich. — Letter of Topcliffe. — Notice of sir T. Smith. — Magical practices against the queen. — Duke Casimir's visit to England. — Duke of Anjou urges his suit with the queen. — Simier's mission. — Leicester's marriage. — Behaviour of the queen. — A shot fired at her barge. — Her memorable speech. — First visit of Anjou in England. — Opinions of privy councillors on the match. — Letter of Philip Sidney. — Stubbs's book. — Punishment inflicted on him. — Notice of sir N. Bacon. — Drake's return from his circumnavigation. — Jesuit seminaries. — Arrival of a French embassy. — A triumph. — Notice of Fulke Greville. — Marriage-treaty with Anjou. — His second visit. — His return and death.

ABOUT the middle of the year 1576, Walsingham, in a letter to sir Henry Sidney, thus writes: "Here at home we live in security as we were wont, grounding our quietness upon others' harms." The harms here alluded to, — the religious wars of France, and the revolt of the Dutch provinces from Spain, — had proved indeed, in more ways than one, the safeguard of the peace of England. They furnished so much domestic occupation to the two catholic sovereigns of Europe most formidable by their power, their bigotry, and their unprincipled

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ambition, as effectually to preclude them from uniting their forces to put in execution against Elizabeth the papal sentence of deprivation; and by the opportunity which they afforded her of causing incalculable mischiefs to these princes, through the succours which she might afford to their rebellious subjects, they long enabled her to restrain both Philip and Charles within the bounds of respect and amity. But circumstances were now tending with increased velocity towards a rupture with Spain; and in 1577 the queen of England saw herself compelled to take steps in the affairs of the Low Countries equally offensive to that power and to France.

The states of Holland, after the rejection of their sovereignty by Elizabeth, cast their eyes around in search of another protector; and Charles IX., suffering his ambition and his rivalry with Philip II. to overpower all the vehemence of his zeal for the catholic religion, showed himself eager to become their patron. His brother the duke d'Alençon, doubtless with his concurrence, offered on certain terms to bring a French army for the expulsion of Don John of Austria, governor of the Low Countries; and this proposal he urged with so much importunity, that the Hollanders, notwithstanding their utter antipathy to the royal family of France, seemed likely to accede to it, as the lightest of that variety of evils of which their present situation offered them the choice. But Elizabeth could not view with indifference the progress of a negotiation which might eventually procure to France the annexation of these important provinces; and she

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encouraged the states to refuse the offers of Alençon, by immediately transmitting for their service liberal supplies of arms and money to duke Casimir, son of the Elector Palatine, then at the head of a large body of German protestants in the Low Countries.

At the same time, she endeavoured to repress the catholics in her own dominions by a stricter enforcement of the penal laws; and two or three persons in this year suffered capitally for their denial of the queen's supremacy.[a]

These steps on the part of Elizabeth threatened entirely to disconcert the plans of the French court; but the king and his brother believed it still practicable to produce a change in her measures; and two or three successive embassies arrived in London during the spring and summer of 1578, to renew with fresh earnestness the proposals of marriage on the part of the duke d'Alençon. The earl of Sussex and his party favored this match; Leicester and all the zealous protestants in the court and the nation opposed it. The queen

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[a] Dr. Whitgift, then bishop of Worcester, and vice-president of the marches of Wales under sir Henry Sidney, peculiarly distinguished himself by his activity in detecting secret meetings of catholics for the purpose of hearing mass and practising other rites of their religion. The privy council, in reward of his zeal, promised to direct to him and to some of the Welsh bishops a special commission for the trial of these delinquents. They further instructed him, in the case of one Morice, who had declined answering directly to certain interrogatories tending to criminate himself in these matters; that if the prisoner remained obstinate, and the commissioners saw cause, they might at their discretion cause *some kind of torture* to be used upon him. The same means he was also desired to take with others, in order to come to a full knowledge of all reconcilements to the church of Rome, and other practices of the papists in these parts. *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 83.

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"sat arbitress;" and perhaps prolonged her deliberations on the question, for the pleasure of receiving homage more than usually assiduous from both factions.

The favorite, anxious to secure his ascendancy by fresh efforts of gallantry, and fresh instances of devotedness, entreated to be indulged in the privilege of entertaining her majesty for several days at his seat of Wanstead-house; a recent and expensive purchase, which he had been occupied in adorning with a magnificence suited to the ostentatious prodigality of his disposition.

It was for the entertainment of her majesty on this occasion that Philip Sidney condescended to task a genius worthy of better things, with the composition of a mask in celebration of her surpassing beauties and royal virtues; entitled "The Lady of May." In defence of this public act of adulation, the young poet had probably the particular request of his uncle and patron to plead, as well as the common practice of the age; but it must still be mortifying, under any circumstances, to record the abasement of such a spirit to a level with the vulgar herd of court-flatterers.

Unsatiated with festivities and homage, the queen continued her progress from Wanstead through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; receiving the attendance of numerous troops of gentry, and making visits in her way to all who felt themselves entitled, or called upon, to solicit with due humility the costly honor of entertaining her. Her train was numerous and brilliant, and the French ambassadors constantly attended her

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motions. About the middle of August she arrived at Norwich.

This ancient city, then one of the most considerable in the kingdom, yielded to none in a zealous attachment to protestant principles and to the queen's person; and as its remote situation had rendered the arrival of a royal visitant within its walls an extremely rare occurrence, the magistrates resolved to spare nothing which could contribute to the splendor of her reception.

At the furthest limits of the city she was met by the mayor, who addressed her in a long and very abject Latin oration; in which he was not ashamed to pronounce that the city enjoyed its charters and privileges "by her only clemency." At the conclusion he produced a large silver cup filled with gold pieces, saying, "Sunt hic centum libræ puri auri:" Welcome sounds! which failed not to reach the ear of her gracious majesty, who, lifting up the cover with alacrity, said audibly to the footman, to whose care it was delivered; "Look to it; there is a hundred pound." Pageants were set up in the principal streets, one of which had at least the merit of appropriateness; since it accurately represented the various processes employed in those woollen manufactures for which Norwich was already famous.

Two days after her majesty's arrival, Mercury, in a blue satin doublet lined with cloth of gold, with a hat of the same, garnished with wings, and wings at his feet, appeared under her chamber-window in an extraordinarily fine painted coach, and invited her to go abroad and see more shows;

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and a kind of mask, in which Venus and Cupid, with Wantonness and Riot, were discomfited by the goddess of Chastity and her attendants, was performed in the open air. A troop of nymphs and fairies lay in ambush for her on her return from dining with the earl of Surry; and in the midst of these heathenish exhibitions, the minister of the Dutch church watched his opportunity to offer to her the grateful homage of his flock. To these deserving strangers, protestant refugees from Spanish oppression, the policy of Elizabeth, in this instance equally generous and discerning, had granted every privilege capable of inducing them to make her kingdom their permanent abode. At Norwich, where the greater number had settled, a church was given them for the performance of public worship in their own tongue, and according to the form which they preferred; and encouragement was held out to them to establish several branches of manufacture which they had previously carried on to great advantage at home. This accession of skill and industry soon raised the woollen fabrics of England to a pitch of excellence unknown in former ages, and repaid with usury to the country this exercise of public hospitality.

It appears that the inventing of masks, pageants, and devices, for the recreation of the queen on her progresses, had become a distinct profession. George Ferrers, formerly commemorated as master of the pastimes to Edward VI., one Goldingham, and Churchyard, author of "The Worthiness of Wales," of some legends in the "Mirror for Magistrates," and of a prodigious quantity of verse

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on various subjects, were the most celebrated proficients in this branch; all three are handed down to posterity as contributors to "The princely Pleasures of Kennelworth," and the two latter as managers of the Norwich entertainments. They vied with each other in the gorgeousness, the pedantry, and the surprisingness of their devices; but the palm was surely due to him of the number who had the glory of contriving a battle between certain allegorical personages, in the midst of which, "legs and arms of men, well and lively wrought, were to be let fall in numbers on the ground as bloody as might be." The combat was to be exhibited in the open air; but the skies were unpropitious, and a violent shower of rain unfortunately deprived her majesty of the satisfaction of witnessing the effect of so extraordinary and elegant a device.

Richard Topcliffe, a Lincolnshire gentleman, employed by government to collect informations against the catholics, and so much distinguished in this employment, that *Topcliffizare* became the cant term of the day for *hunting a recusant*, was at this time a follower of the court; and a letter addressed by him to the earl of Shrewsbury contains some particulars of this progress worth preserving ..... "I did never see her majesty better received by two counties in one journey than Suffolk and Norfolk now; Suffolk of gentlemen, and Norfolk of the meaner sort; with exceeding joy to themselves and well liking to her majesty. Great entertainment at the master of the Rolls'; greater at Kenninghall, and exceeding of all sorts at Norwich.

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"The next good news (but in account the highest), her majesty hath served God with great zeal and comfortable examples; for by her council two notorious papists, young Rookwood (the master of Euston-hall, where her majesty did lie upon Sunday now a fortnight,) and one Downes, a gentleman, were both committed; the one to the town prison at Norwich, the other to the county prison there; for obstinate papistry; and seven more gentlemen of worship were committed to several houses in Norwich as prisoners .... for badness of belief..... This Rookwood is a papist of kind, newly crept out of his late wardship. Her majesty, by some means I know not, was lodged at his house, Euston, far unmeet for her highness, but fitter for the black-guard; nevertheless (the gentleman brought into her majesty's presence by like device), her excellent majesty gave to Rookwood ordinary thanks for his bad house, and her fair hand to kiss; after which it was braved at. But my lord chamberlain, nobly and gravely, understanding that Rookwood was excommunicated for papistry, called him before him; demanded of him how he durst to attempt her royal presence, he, unfit to accompany any Christian person? Forthwith said he was fitter for a pair of stocks; commanded him out of the court, and yet to attend her council's pleasure, and at Norwich he was committed. And, to decypher the gentleman to the full; a piece of plate being missed in the court and searched for in his hay-house, in the hay-rick such an image of our lady was there found, as for greatness, for gayness and workmanship, I never did see

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a match; and after a sort of country dances ended, in her majesty's sight the idol was set behind the people, who avoided. She rather seemed a beast raised upon a sudden from hell by conjuring, than the picture for whom it had been so often and so long abused. Her majesty commanded it to the fire, which in her sight by the country folks was quickly done; to her content, and unspeakable joy of every one, but some one or two who had sucked of the idol's poisoned milk.

"Shortly after, a great sort of good preachers, who had been commanded to silence for a little niceness, were licensed, and again commanded to preach; a greater and more universal joy to the counties and the most of the court, than the disgrace of the papists; and the gentlemen of those parts, being great and hot protestants (almost before by policy discredited and disgraced), were greatly countenanced." The letter-writer afterwards mentions in a splenetic style the envoy from Monsieur, one Baqueville a Norman, "with four or five of Monsieur's youths;" who attended the queen and were "well entertained and regarded." After them, he says, came M. Rambouillet from the French king, brother of the cardinal, who had not long before written vilely against the queen; and whose entertainment, it seemed to him, was not so good as that of the others.[a]

The queen was about this time deprived by death of an old and faithful counsellor, in the person of sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state. This emi-

[a] *Illustrations, by Lodge*, vol. ii. p. 187.

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nent person, the author of a work on the Commonwealth of England, still occasionally consulted, and in various ways a great benefactor to letters in his day, was one of the few who had passed at once with safety and credit through all the perils and revolutions of the three preceding reigns. His early proficiency at college obtained for Smith the patronage of Henry VIII., at whose expense he was sent to complete his studies in Italy; and he took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Padua. On his return, resuming his residence at Cambridge, he united his efforts with those of Cheke for reforming the pronunciation of the Greek language. Afterwards he afforded an example of attachment to his mother-tongue, which has found too few imitators among classical scholars, by giving to the public a work on English orthography and pronunciation; objects as yet almost totally neglected by his countrymen; and respecting which, down to a much later period, no approach to system or uniformity prevailed, but on the contrary, a vagueness, a rudeness, and an ignorance, disgraceful to a lettered people.

Though educated in the civil law, Smith now took deacon's orders, and accepted a rectory and the deanery of Carlisle. His principles began secretly to incline towards the reformers; and he lent such protection as he was able to those who in the latter years of Henry VIII. underwent persecution for the avowal of similar sentiments.

Protector Somerset patronized him: under his administration he was knighted, notwithstanding his deacon's orders, and became the colleague of

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Cecil as secretary of state. On the accession of Mary he was stripped of the lucrative offices which he held, but a small pension was assigned him on condition of his remaining in the kingdom; and he contrived to pass away those days of horror in an unmolested obscurity.

He was among the first whom Mary's illustrious successor recalled to public usefulness; being summoned to take his place at her earliest council. In the important measures of the beginning of the reign for the settlement of religion, he took a distinguished part: afterwards he was employed with advantage to his country in several difficult embassies; he was then appointed assistant, and finally successor to Burleigh, in the same high post which they had occupied together so many years before, under the reign of Edward; and in this station he died at the age of sixty-three.

No statesman of the age bore a higher character than sir Thomas Smith for rectitude and benevolence; and nothing of the wiliness and craft conspicuous in most of his coadjutors is discernible in him. There was one foible, however, conspicuous in his character: on certain points he was superstitious even beyond the ordinary measure of learned credulity in the sixteenth century. Of his faith in alchemical experiments a striking instance has already occurred; he was likewise a great astrologer; and gave himself much concern in conjecturing what direful events might be portended by the appearance of a comet which became visible in the last year of his life. During a temporary retirement from court,

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he had also distinguished himself as a magistrate by his extraordinary diligence in the prosecution of suspected witches. But the date of these and similar delusions had not yet expired. Great alarms were excited in the country during the year 1577 by the prevalence of certain magical practices, which were supposed to strike at the life of her majesty. There were found at Islington, concealed in the house of a catholic priest who was a reputed sorcerer, three waxen images, formed to represent the queen and two of her chief counsellors; other dealings also of professors of the occult sciences were from time to time discovered. "Whether it were the effect of this magic," says Strype, who wrote in the beginning of the eighteenth century, "or proceeded from some natural cause, but the queen was in some part of this year under excessive anguish by pains of her teeth: insomuch that she took no rest for divers nights, and endured very great torment night and day." In this extremity, a certain "outlandish" physician was consulted; who composed, with much solemnity of style, a long Latin letter on the case, in which, after observing with due humility that it was a perilous attempt in a person of his slender abilities to prescribe for a disease which had caused perplexity and diversity of opinion among the skilful and eminent physicians ordinarily employed by her majesty, he ventured however to suggest various applications as worthy of trial; finally hinting at the expediency of having recourse to extraction, on the possible failure of all other means of relief. How this weighty matter terminated we are not

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here informed; but it is upon record that Aylmer bishop of London once submitted to have a tooth drawn, in order to encourage her majesty to undergo that operation; and as the promotion of the learned prelate was at this time recent, and his gratitude, it may be presumed, still lively, we may perhaps be permitted to conjecture that it was the bishop who on this occasion performed the part of exorcist.

The efforts of duke Casimir for the defence of the United Provinces had hitherto proved eminently unfortunate; and in the autumn of 1578 he judged it necessary to come over to England to apologise in person to Elizabeth for the ill success of his arms, and to make arrangements for the future.

He was very honorably received by her majesty; who recollected perhaps with some little complacency that he had formerly been her suitor. Justings, tilts, and runnings at the ring were exhibited for his entertainment; and he was engaged in hunting parties, in which he greatly delighted. Leicester loaded him with presents; the earl of Pembroke also complimented him with a valuable jewel. The earl of Huntingdon, a nobleman whose religious zeal, which had rendered him the peculiar patron of the puritan divines, interested him also in the cause of Holland, escorted him on his return as far as Gravesend; and sir Henry Sidney attended him to Dover. The queen willingly bestowed on her guest the cheap distinction of the garter; but her parting present of two golden cups, worth three hundred pounds a-piece, was extorted from her, after much murmuring and

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long reluctance, by the urgency of Walsingham, who was anxious, with the rest of his party, that no mark of respect should be omitted towards this honest though unfortunate champion of the protestant cause.

The Spanish and French ambassadors repined at the favors heaped on Casimir; but in the mean time the French faction was not inactive on the other side. The earl of Sussex, whose generally sound judgement seems to have been warped in this instance by his habitual contrariety to Leicester, wrote, in August, 1578, a long letter to the queen, in which, after stating the arguments for and against the French match, he summed up pretty decidedly in its favor. What was of more avail, Monsieur sent over to plead his cause an agent named Simier, a person of great dexterity, who well knew how to ingratiate himself by a thousand amusing arts; by a sprightly style of conversation peculiarly suited to the taste of the queen; and by that ingenious flattery, the talent of his nation, which is seldom entirely thrown away even upon the sternest and most impenetrable natures. Elizabeth could not summon resolution to dismiss abruptly a suit which was so agreeably urged; and in February, 1579, lord Talbot sends the following information to his father: "Her majesty continueth her very good usage of M. Simier and all his company; and he hath conference with her three or four times a week; and she is the best disposed and pleasantest when she talketh with him (as by her gestures appeareth) that is possible." He adds, "The opinion of Monsieur's coming still holdeth,

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and yet it is secretly bruited that he cannot take up so much money as he would on such a sudden, and therefore will not come so soon."[a]

The influence of Simier over the queen became on a sudden so potent, that Leicester and his party reported, and perhaps believed, that he had employed philters and other unlawful means to inspire her with love for his master. Simier on his side amply retaliated these hostilities by carrying to her majesty the first tidings of the secret marriage of her favorite with the countess of Essex; a fact which none of her courtiers had found courage to communicate to her, though it must have been by this time widely known; as sir Francis Knolles, the countess's father, had insisted, for the sake of his daughter's reputation, that the celebration of the nuptials should take place in presence of a considerable number of witnesses.

The rage of the queen on this disclosure transported her beyond all the bounds of justice, reason, and decorum. It has been already remarked that she was habitually, or systematically, an enemy to matrimony in general; and the higher any persons stood in her good graces and the more intimate their intercourse with her, the greater was her resentment at detecting in them any aspirations after this state; for a kind of jealousy was in these cases superadded to her malignity; and it offended her pride that those who were honored with her favor should find room in their thoughts to covet another kind of happiness of which she was not the

[a] *Illustrations*, vol. ii.

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dispenser. But that Leicester, the dearest of her friends, the first of her favorites, after all the devotedness to her charms which he had so long professed, and which she had requited by a preference so marked and benefits so signal, — that he, — her opinion unconsulted, her sanction unimplored, should have formed, — and with her own near relation, — this indissoluble tie; and having formed it should have attempted to conceal the fact from her when known to so many others; — appeared to her the acme of ingratitude, perfidy, and insult. She felt the injury like a weak disappointed woman; she resented it like a despot and a Tudor.

She instantly ordered Leicester into confinement in a small fort in Greenwich park; and she threw out the menace, nay actually entertained the design, of sending him to the Tower. But the lofty and honorable mind of the earl of Sussex revolted against proceedings so violent, so lawless, and so disgraceful in every point of view to his royal kinswoman. He plainly represented to her, that it was contrary to all right and decorum that any man should be punished for lawful matrimony, which was held in honor by all; and his known hostility to the favorite giving weight to his remonstrance, the queen curbed her anger, gave up the thought of the Tower, and soon restored the earl to liberty. In no long time afterwards, he was re-admitted to her presence; and so necessary had he made himself to her majesty, or so powerful in the state, that she found it expedient insensibly to restore him to the same place of trust and intimacy as before; though it is probable that he never entirely

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regained her affections; while his countess, for whom indeed she had never entertained any affections, remained the avowed object of her utter antipathy even after the death of Leicester, and in spite of all the intercessions in her behalf with which her son Essex, in the meridian of his favor, never ceased to importune his sovereign.

Leicester proceeded to such extremity after this affair in his quarrel against Simier, that the envoy believed his life in danger from his attempts. It was even said, that the earl had actually hired one of the queen's guard to assassinate him; and that the design had only miscarried by chance. However this might be, her majesty, on account of the spirit of enmity displayed towards Simier by the people, — to whom the idea of the French match was ever odious, — found it necessary, by a proclamation, to take him under her special protection. It was about this time, that as the queen was taking the air on the Thames, attended by this Frenchman and by several of her courtiers, a shot was fired into her barge, by which one of the rowers was severely wounded. Some supposed that it was aimed at Simier, others at the queen herself; but the last opinion was immediately silenced by the wise and gracious declaration of her majesty, "that she would believe nothing of her subjects that parents would not believe of their children."

After due inquiry, the shot was found to have been accidental, and the person who had been the cause of the mischief, though condemned to death, was pardoned. Such at least is the account of the affair transmitted to us by contemporary writers;

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but it remains a mystery how the man came to be capitally condemned, if innocent, or to be pardoned, if guilty.

Leicester, from all these circumstances, had incurred so much obloquy at court, and found himself so coldly treated by the queen herself, that in a letter to Burleigh he offered, or threatened, to banish himself; well knowing, perhaps, that the proposal would not be accepted; while the French prince, now created duke of Anjou, adroitly seized the moment of the earl's disgrace to try the effect of personal solicitations on the heart of Elizabeth. He arrived quite unexpectedly, and almost without attendants, at the gate of her palace at Greenwich; experienced a very gracious reception; and after several long conferences with the queen alone, of which the particulars never transpired, took his leave and returned home; recommitting his cause to the skilful management of his agent, and the discussion of his brother's ambassadors.

Long and frequent meetings of the council were now held, by command of her majesty, for the discussion of the question of marriage; from the minutes of which some interesting details may be recovered.

The earl of Sussex was still, as ever, strongly in favor of the match; and chiefly, as it appears, from an apprehension that France and Spain might otherwise join to dethrone the queen and set up another in her place. Lord Hunsdon was on the same side, as was also the lord-admiral (the earl of Lincoln), but less warmly. Burleigh labored to find arguments in support of the measure; but evidently against

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his judgement and to please the queen. Leicester professed to have changed his opinion; "for her majesty was to be followed." Sir Walter Mildmay reasoned freely and forcibly against the measure, on the ground of the too advanced age of the queen, and the religion, the previous public conduct, and the family connexions of Anjou. Sir Ralph Sadler subscribed to most of the objections of Mildmay, and brought forward additional ones. Sir Henry Sidney approved all these, and subjoined, "that the marriage could not be made good by all the counsel between England and Rome; a mass might not be suffered in the court;" meaning, probably, that the marriage rite could not by any expedient be accommodated to the religion of both parties, and to the law of England.

On the whole, with the single exception perhaps of the earl of Sussex, those counsellors who pronounced in favour of the marriage in this debate, did so, almost avowedly, in compliance with the wishes of the queen, whose inclination to the alliance had become very evident since the visit of her youthful suitor; while such as opposed it were moved by a sincere and strong conviction of the gross impropriety and thorough unsuitableness of the match, with respect to Elizabeth herself; and the dreadful evils which it was likely to entail on the nation. The general repugnance of this body to the connexion became perfectly evident when the council, instead of immediately obeying her majesty's command, that they should come to a formal decision on the question, and acquaint her with the

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same, hesitated, temporized, assured her of their readiness to be entirely guided in a matter so personal to herself by her feelings and wishes; requested to be further informed what these might be; and inquired whether, under all the circumstances, she was desirous of their coming to a full determination. "This message was reported to her majesty in the forenoon," (October 7th, 1579,) "and she allowed very well of the dutiful offer of their services. Nevertheless she uttered many speeches, and that not without shedding of many tears, that she should find in her councillors, by their long disputations, any disposition to make it doubtful, whether there could be any more surety for her and her realm than to have her marry and have a child of her own body to inherit, and so to continue the line of king Henry the eighth; and she said she condemned herself of simplicity in committing this matter to be argued by them; for that she thought to have rather had an universal request made to her to proceed in this marriage, than to have made doubt of it; and being much troubled herewith she requested" the bearers of this message "to forbear her till the afternoon."

On their return, she repeated her former expressions of displeasure, and endeavored at some length to refute the objections brought against the match; and, finally, her "great misliking" of all opposition, and her earnest desire for the marriage being reported to her faithful council, they agreed, after long consultations, to offer her their

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services in furtherance of it, should such really be her pleasure.*

But the country possessed some men less obsequious than the council, who could not endure to stand by in silence and behold the great public interests here at stake surrendered in slavish deference to the fond fancy of a romantic woman; caught by the image of a passion which she was no longer of an age to inspire, and which she ought to have felt it an indecorum to entertain. Of this number, to his immortal honor, was Philip Sidney. This young gentleman bore at the time the courtly office of cup-bearer to the queen, and was looking for further advancement at her hands; and as on a former occasion he had not scrupled to administer some food to her preposterous desire of personal admiration, Elizabeth, when she applied to him for his opinion on her marriage, assuredly did so in the hope and expectation of hearing from him something more grateful to her ears than the language of truth and wisdom. But Sidney had beheld with his own eyes the horrors of the Paris massacre; he had imbibed with all the eagerness of a youthful and generous mind the principles of his friend the excellent Hubert Languet, one of the ablest advocates of the protestant cause; and he had since, on his embassy to Germany and Holland, enjoyed the favor and contemplated the illustrious virtues of William prince of Orange, its heroic champion.

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* *Burleigh Papers, by Murdin, passim.*

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To this sacred cause the purposed marriage must prove, as he well knew, deeply injurious, and to the reputation of his sovereign fatal: — this was enough to decide his judgement and his conduct; and magnanimously disdaining the suggestions of a selfish and servile policy, he replied to the demand of her majesty by a letter of dissuasion, almost of remonstrance, at once the most eloquent and the most courageous piece of that nature which the age can boast. Every important view of the subject is comprised in this letter, which is long, but at the same time so condensed in style, and so skilfully compacted as to matter, that it well deserves to be read entire; and must lose materially either by abridgement or omission. Yet it may be permitted to detach from political reasonings, foreign to the nature and object of this work, a few sentences referring more immediately to the personal character of Anjou, and displaying in a strong light the enormous unfitness of the connexion; and also the animated and affectionate conclusion by which the writer seems desirous to atone for the enunciation of so many unwelcome truths.

"These," speaking of her majesty's protestant subjects..... "These, how will their hearts be galled, if not aliened, when they shall see you take a husband, a Frenchman and a papist, in whom (howsoever fine wits may find further dealings or painted excuses) the very common people well know this; that he is the son of a Jezabel of our age; that his brother made oblation of his own sister's marriage, the easier to make massacres of our brethren in belief: That he himself, contrary

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to his promise, and all gratefulness, having his liberty and principal estate by the Hugonots' means, did sack La Charité, and utterly spoil them with fire and sword! This, I say, even at first sight, gives occasion to all truly religious to abhor such a master, and consequently to diminish much of the hopeful love they have long held to you."

"Now the agent party, which is Monsieur. Whether he be not apt to work on the disadvantage of your estate, he is to be judged by his will and power: his will to be as full of light ambition as is possible, besides the French disposition and his own education, his inconstant temper against his brother; his thrusting himself into the Low Country matters; his sometimes seeking the king of Spain's daughter, sometimes your majesty; are evident testimonies of his being carried away with every wind of hope; taught to love greatness any way gotten; and having for the motioners and ministers of the mind only such young men as have showed they think evil contentment a ground of any rebellion; who have seen no commonwealth but in faction, and divers of which have defiled their hands in odious murders. With such fancies and favorites what is to be hoped for? or that he will contain himself within the limits of your conditions?"

...."Against contempt, if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent virtues of piety, justice, and liberality, daily, if it be possible, more and more shine. Let such particular actions be found out (which be easy, as I think, to be done) by which you may gratify all the hearts of

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your people. Let those in whom you find trust, and to whom you have committed trust in your weighty affairs, be held up in the eyes of your subjects: Lastly, doing as you do, you shall be as you be, the example of princes, the ornament of this age, and the most excellent fruit of your progenitors, and the perfect mirror of your posterity."

Such had ever been the devoted loyalty of Philip Sidney towards Elizabeth, and so high was the place which he held in her esteem, that she appears to have imputed the boldness of this letter to no motives but good ones; and instead of resenting his interference in so delicate a matter, she is thought to have been deeply moved by his eloquence, and even to have been influenced by it in the formation of her final resolve. But far other success attended the efforts of a different character, who labored with equal zeal, equal reason, and probably not inferior purity of intention, though far less courtliness of address, to deter rather than dissuade her from the match, on grounds far more offensive to her feelings; and by means of what was then accounted a seditious appeal to the passions and prejudices of the nation.

The work alluded to was entitled, "The Discovery of a gaping Gulf wherein England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns by letting her see the Sin and Punishment thereof." Its author was a gentleman named Stubbs, then of Lincoln's Inn, and previously of Bene't College, Cambridge, where we are told that his intimacies had been

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formed among the more learned and ingenious class of students, and where the poet Spenser had become his friend. He was known as a zealous puritan, and had given his sister in marriage to the celebrated Edmund Cartwright, the leader of the sect. It is probable that neither his religious principles nor this connexion were forgotten by the queen in her estimate of his offence. A furious proclamation was issued against the book, all the copies of which were ordered to be seized and burned; and the author and publisher, being proceeded against on a severe statute of Philip and Mary, which many lawyers held to be no longer in force, were found guilty, and condemned to the barbarous punishment of amputation of the right hand.

The words of Stubbs on being brought to the scaffold to undergo his sentence have been preserved, and well merit transcription. "What a grief it is to the body to lose one of his members you all know. I am come hither to receive my punishment according to the law. I am sorry for the loss of my hand, and more sorry to lose it by judgement; but most of all with her majesty's indignation and evil opinion, whom I have so highly displeased. Before I was condemned, I might speak for my innocency; but now my mouth is stopped by judgement; to the which I submit myself, and am content patiently to endure whatsoever it pleaseth God, of his secret providence, to lay upon me, and take it justly deserved for my sins; and I pray God it may be an example to you all, that it being so dangerous to offend the

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laws, without an evil meaning, as breedeth the loss of a hand, you may use your hands holily, and pray to God for the long preservation of her majesty over you; whom God hath used as an instrument for a long peace and many blessings over us; and especially for his Gospel, whereby she hath made a way for us to rest and quietness to our consciences. For the French I force not; but my greatest grief is, in so many weeks and days of imprisonment, her majesty hath not once thought me worthy of her mercy, which she hath often times extended to divers persons in greater offences. For my hand, I esteem it not so much; for I think I could have saved it, and might do yet; but I will not have a guiltless heart and an infamous hand. I pray you all to pray with me, that God will strengthen me to endure and abide the pain that I am to suffer, and grant me this grace; that the loss of my hand do not withdraw any part of my duty and affection towards her majesty; and because, when so many veins of blood are opened, it is uncertain how they may be stayed, and what will be the event thereof."..... The hand ready on the block to be stricken off, he said often to the people, "Pray for me now my calamity is at hand." And so, with these words, it was smitten off, whereof he sownded."[a]

In this speech, the language of which is so remarkably contrasted with those abject submissions which fear extorted from the high-born victims of the tyranny of Henry VIII., the attentive reader

[a] *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

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will discern somewhat of the same spirit which afterwards combated popery and despotism under the Stuarts; though tempered by that loyal attachment towards the restorer and protectress of reformed religion which dwelt in the hearts of all the protestant subjects of Elizabeth without exception.

After the execution of the more painful part of his sentence, Stubbs was further punished by an imprisonment of several months in the Tower: but under all these inflictions, his courage and his cheerfulness were supported by a firm persuasion of the goodness of the cause in which he suffered. He wrote many letters to his friends with the left hand, signing them Scævola; a surname which it was his pleasure to adopt in memory of a circumstance by which he did not feel *himself* the person dishonored. Such was the opinion entertained by Burleigh of the theological learning of this eminent person, and the soundness of his principles, that he engaged him in 1587 to answer cardinal Allen's violent book, entitled "The English Justice;" a task which he is said to have performed with distinguished ability.

During the whole of the year 1580, the important question of the queen's marriage remained in an undecided state. The court of France appears to have suffered the treaty to languish, and Elizabeth, conscious no doubt that her fond inclination could only be gratified at the expense of that popularity which it had been the leading object of her policy to cherish, sought not to revive it.

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Various circumstances occurred to occupy public attention during the interval.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, who under the humbler title of lord-keeper had exercised, from the beginning of the reign, the office of lord high chancellor, died generally regretted in 1579. No one is recorded to have filled this important post with superior assiduity or a greater reputation for uprightness and ability than sir Nicholas; and several well-known traits afford a highly pleasing image of the general character of his mind. Of this number are his motto, *Mediocria firma*, and his handsome reply to the remark of her majesty that his house was too little for him: — "No, madam; but you have made me too big for my house." Even when, upon this royal hint, he erected his elegant mansion of Gorhambury, he was still careful not to lose sight of that idea of lettered privacy in which he loved to indulge; and the accomplishments of his mind were reflected in the decorations of his home. In the gardens, on which his chief care and cost were bestowed, arose a banqueting-house consecrated to the seven Sciences, whose figures adorned the walls, each subscribed with a Latin distich and surrounded with portraits of her most celebrated votaries: a temple in which we may imagine the youthful mind of that illustrious son of his, who "took all learning to be" his "province," receiving with delight its earliest inspiration. In his second wife, — one of the learned daughters of sir Anthony Cook; a woman of a keen and penetrating intellect, and much distinguished by her zeal for reformed religion in its

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austerer forms; — sir Nicholas found a partner capable of sharing his views and appreciating his character. By her he became the father of two sons; that remarkable man Anthony Bacon, and Francis, — the light of science, the interpreter of nature, the admiration of his own age, and the wonder of succeeding ones; the splendid dawn of whose unrivalled genius his father was happy enough to behold; more happy still in not surviving to witness the calamitous eclipse which overshadowed his reputation at its highest noon.

The lord-keeper was esteemed the second pillar of that state of which Burleigh was the prime support. In all public measures of importance they acted together; and similar speculative opinions, with coinciding views of national policy, united these two eminent statesmen in a brotherhood dearer than that of alliance; but in their motives of action, and in the character of their mind, a diversity was observable which it may be useful to point out.

Of Burleigh it has formerly been remarked, that with his own interest he considered also, and perhaps equally, that of his queen and his country: but the patriotism of Bacon seems to have risen higher; and his conformity with the wishes and sentiments of his sovereign was less obsequiously exact. In the affair of lady Catherine Grey's title, he did not hesitate to risk the favor of the queen and his own continuance in office, for the sake of what appeared to him the cause of religion and his country. On the whole, however, moderation and prudence were the governing principles of his

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mind and actions. The intellect of Burleigh was more versatile and acute, that of Bacon more profound; and their parts in the great drama of public life were cast accordingly: Burleigh had most of the alertness of observation, the fertility of expedient, the rapid calculation of contingencies, required in the minister of state; Bacon, of the gravity and steadfastness which clothe with reverence and authority the counsellor and judge. "He was a plain man," says Francis Bacon of his father, "direct and constant, without all finesse, and doubleness, and one that was of a mind that a man in his private proceedings and estate, and in the proceedings of state, should rest upon the soundness and strength of his own courses, and not upon practice to circumvent others."

After Elizabeth had forgiven his interference respecting the succession, no one was held by her in greater honor and esteem than her lord-keeper: She visited him frequently, conversed with him familiarly, took pleasure in the flashes of wit which often relieved the seriousness of his wisdom; and flattered with kind condescension his parental feelings by the extraordinary notice which she bestowed on his son Francis, whose brightness and solidity of parts early manifested themselves to her discerning eye, and caused her to predict that her "little lord-keeper" would one day prove an eminent man.

Great interest was excited by the arrival in Plymouth harbour, in November 1580, of the celebrated Francis Drake from his circumnavigation of the globe. National vanity was flattered by the

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idea that this Englishman should have been the first commander-in-chief by whom this great and novel enterprise had been successfully achieved; and both himself and his ship became in an eminent degree the objects of public curiosity and wonder. The courage, skill, and perseverance of this great navigator were deservedly extolled; the wealth which he had brought home from the plunder of the Spanish settlements, awakened the cupidity which in that age was a constant attendant on the daring spirit of maritime adventure; and half the youth of the country were on fire to embark in expeditions of pillage and discovery.

But the court was not so easily induced to second the ardor of the nation. Drake's captures from the Spaniards had been made, under some vague notion of reprisals, whilst no open war was subsisting between the nations; and the Spanish ambassador, not, it must be confessed, without some reason, branded his proceedings with the reproach of piracy; and loudly demanded restitution of the booty. Elizabeth wavered for some time between admiration of the valiant Drake, mixed with a desire of sharing in the profits of his expedition, and a dread of incensing the king of Spain; but she at length decided on the part most acceptable to her people; — that of giving a public sanction to his acts. During the spring of 1581, she accepted of a banquet on board his ship off Deptford, conferred on him the order of knighthood, and received him into favor.

Much anxiety and alarm was about this time occasioned to the queen and her protestant subjects

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by the clandestine arrival of a considerable number of catholic priests in the country. These persons were mostly English by birth, but educated at the seminaries respectively founded at Douay, Rheims, and Rome, by the king of Spain, cardinal Lorrain, and the pope; for the express purpose of furnishing means for the disturbance of the queen's government. Monks of the new order of Jesuits presided over all these establishments, who made it their business to inspire their pupils with the most frightful excess of bigotry and fanaticism; and two of these friars, fathers Parsons and Campion, coming over to England to guide and regulate the efforts of their party, were detected in treasonable practices; on account of which, Campion, with some accomplices, underwent capital punishment; or, in the language of his church, received the crown of martyrdom.

In order to check the diffusion, among the rising generation, of doctrines so destructive of the peace and good government of the country, a proclamation was issued in June 1580, requiring that all persons who had any children, wards, or kinsmen, in any parts beyond seas, should within ten days give in their names to the ordinaries; and within four months send for them home again.

Circular letters were also dispatched by the council to the bishops, setting forth, that whereas her majesty found daily inconvenience to the realm by the education of numbers of young gentlemen and others her subjects in parts beyond the seas; —where for the most part they were "nourselled and nourished in papistry," with such instructions

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as "made them to mislike the government of their country, and thus tended to render them undutiful subjects;" she intending to "take some present order therein;" as well by prohibiting that any but such as were known to be well affected in religion, and would undertake for the good education of their children, should send them abroad; and they not without her majesty's special license; — as also by recalling such as were at present in Spain, France, or Italy, without such license;— had commanded that the bishops should call before them, in their respective dioceses, certain parents, or guardians, whose names were annexed, and bind them in good sums of money for the recall of their sons or wards within three months.[a] Many other indications of a jealousy of the abode of English youth in catholic countries, which at such a juncture will scarcely appear unreasonable, might be collected from various sources.

A friend of Anthony Bacon's sends him this warning to Bordeaux in 1583: "I can no longer abstain from telling you plainly that the injury is great you do to yourself, and your best friends, in this your voluntary banishment (for so it is already termed)..... The times are not as heretofore for the best disposed travellers: but in one word, sir, believe me, they are not the best thought of where they would be that take any delight to absent themselves in foreign parts; especially such as are of quality, and known to have no other cause than their private contentment; which also is not

[a] *Strype's Whitgift.*

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allowable, or to be for any long time, as you will shortly hear further; touching these limitations. In the mean time I could wish you looked well to yourself, and to think, that whilst you live there, perhaps in no great security, you are within the compass of some sinister conceits or hard speeches here, if not of that jealousy which is now had even of the best, that in these doubtful days, wherein our country hath need to be furnished of the soundest members and truest hearts to God and prince, do yet take delight to live in those parts where our utter ruin is threatened:" &c.[a]

"The old lord Burleigh," says a contemporary, "if any one came to the lords of the council for a license to travel, would first examine him of England. And if he found him ignorant, would bid him stay at home and know his own country first."[b] A plausible evasion, doubtless, of requests with which that cautious minister judged it inexpedient to comply.

These machinations of the catholics afforded a plea to the puritans in the house of commons for the enactment of still severer laws against this already persecuted sect; and Elizabeth judged it expedient to accord a ready assent to these statutes, for the purpose of tranquillizing the minds of her protestant subjects on the score of religion, previously to the renewal of negotiations with the court of France.

Simier, who still remained in England, had been but too successful in continuing or reviving the

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[a] *Birch's Memoirs.* [b] *Complete Gentleman, by H. Peacham.*

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tender impressions created in the heart of the queen by the personal attentions of his master; and the French king, finding leisure to turn his attention once more to this object, from which he had been apparently diverted by the civil wars which had broken out afresh in his country, was encouraged to send in 1581 a splendid embassy, headed by a prince of the blood, to settle the terms of this august alliance, of which every one now expected to see the completion. A magnificent reception was prepared by Elizabeth for these noble strangers; but she had the weakness to choose to appear before them in the borrowed character of a heroine of romance, rather than in that of the great princess whose vigorous yet cautious politics had rendered her for more than twenty years the admiration of all the statesmen of Europe.

She caused a vast banqueting-house to be erected on the south side of her palace of Whitehall, framed of timber and covered with painted canvass, which was decorated internally in a style of the most fantastic gaudiness. Pendants of fruits of various kinds (amongst which *carrots* are enumerated) were hung from festoons of ivy, bay, rosemary, and different flowers; the whole lavishly sprinkled with gold spangles: the ceiling was painted like a sky, with stars, sun-beams and clouds, intermixed with scutcheons of the royal arms; and a profusion of glass lustres illuminated the whole. In this enchanted palace the French ambassadors were entertained by the queen at several splendid banquets, while her ministers were engaged by her command in drawing up the marriage articles.

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Mean time several of her youthful courtiers, anxious to complete the gay illusion in the imagination of their sovereign, prepared for the exhibition of what was called *a triumph*; — of which the following was the plan.

The young earl of Arundel, lord Windsor, Philip Sidney, and Fulke Greville, the four challengers, styled themselves the foster-children of Desire; and to that end of the tilt-yard where her majesty was seated, their adulation gave the name of the Castle of Perfect Beauty. This castle the queen was summoned to surrender, in a very courtly message delivered by a boy dressed in red and white, the colours of Desire. On her refusal, a mount placed on wheels was moved into the tilt-yard, and the four cavaliers rode in superbly armed and accoutred, and each at the head of a splendid troop; and when they had passed in military order before the queen, the boy who had delivered the former message thus again addressed her:

"If the message lately delivered unto you had been believed and followed, O queen! in whom the whole story of virtue is written with the language of beauty; nothing should this violence have needed in your inviolate presence. Your eyes, which till now have been wont to discern only the bowed knees of kneeling hearts, and, inwardly turned, found always the heavenly peace of a sweet mind, should not now have their fair beams reflected with the shining of armour, should not now be driven to see the fury of desire, nor the fiery force of fury. But sith so it is (alas that it is so!) that in the defence of obstinate refusal there never

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groweth victory but by compulsion, they are come: — what need I say more? You see them, ready in heart as you know, and able with hands, as they hope, not only to assailing, but to prevailing. Perchance you despise the smallness of number. I say unto you, the force of Desire goeth not by fulness of company. Nay, rather view with what irresistible determination themselves approach, and how not only the heavens send their invisible instruments to aid them (*music within the mount*) but also the very earth, the dullest of all the elements, which with natural heaviness still strives to the sleepy centre, yet, for advancing this enterprise, is content actively (as you shall see) to move itself upon itself to rise up in height, that it may the better command the high and high-minded fortresses.

"(*Here the mount rose up in height.*) Many words, when deeds are in the field, are tedious both unto the speaker and hearer. You see their forces, but know not their fortunes: if you be resolved, it boots not, and threats dread not. I have discharged my charge, which was even when all things were ready for the assault, then to offer parley; a thing not so much used as gracious in besiegers. You shall now be summoned to yield; which if it be rejected, then look for the affectionate alarm to be followed with desirous assault. The time approacheth for their approaches, but no time shall stay me from wishing, that however this succeed, the world may long enjoy its chiefest ornament, which decks it with herself, and herself with the love of goodness."

The rolling mount was now moved close to the

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queen, the music sounded, and one of the boys accompanied with cornets sung a fresh summons to the fortress.

When this was ended, another boy, turning to the challengers and their retinue, sung an alarm, which ended, the two cannons were shot off, 'the one with sweet powder and the other with sweet water, very odoriferous and pleasant; and the noise of the shooting was very excellent consent of melody within the mount. And after that, was store of pretty scaling-ladders; and the footmen threw flowers and such fancies against the walls, with all such devices as might seem fit shot for Desire. All which did continue till time the defendants came in.' These were above twenty in number, and each accompanied by his servants, pages, and trumpeters. Speeches were delivered to the queen on the part of these knights, several of whom appeared in some assumed character; sir Thomas Perrot and Anthony Cook thought proper to personate Adam and Eve; the latter having 'hair hung all down his helmet.' The messenger sent on the part of Thomas Ratcliff described his master as a forlorn knight, whom despair of achieving the favor of his peerless and sunlike mistress had driven out of the haunts of men into a cave of the desert; where moss was his couch, and moss, moistened by tears, his only food. Even here, however, the report of this assault upon the castle of Perfect Beauty had reached his ears, and roused him from his slumber of despondency; and, in token of his devoted loyalty and inviolable fidelity to his divine lady, he sent his shield; which he

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entreated her to accept as the ensign of her fame and the instrument of his glory, prostrating himself at her feet as one ready to undertake any adventures in hope of her gracious favor. — Of this romantic picture of devoted and despairing passion the description of Amadis de Gaul at the Poor Rock seems to have been the prototype.

On the part of the four sons of sir Francis Knolles, Mercury appeared, and described them as 'legitimate sons of Despair, brethren to hard mishap; suckled with sighs and swathed up in sorrow, weaned in woe and drynursed by Desire, long time fostered with favorable countenance and fed with sweet fancies, but now of late (alas) wholly given over to grief and disgraced by disdain.' The speeches being ended, probably to the relief of the hearers, the tilting commenced and lasted till night. It was resumed the next day with some fresh circumstances of magnificence, and a few more harangues: — at length the challengers presented to the queen an olive bough in token of their humble submission; and both parties were dismissed by her with thanks and commendations. *

By whom the speeches for this triumph were composed does not appear; but their style seems to correspond very exactly with that of John Lilly, a dramatic poet who in this year gave to the public a romance in two parts; the first entitled "Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit;" the second, "Euphues, and his England." A work which in despite, or rather perhaps by favor, of the new and

* *Holinshed.*

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singular affectations with which it was overrun, obtained extraordinary popularity; and infected for a considerable length of time the style of polite writing and fashionable speech.

An author of the present day, whose elegant taste and profound acquaintance with the writers of this and the following reign, entitle him to be heard with deference, has given his opinion of Euphues in the following terms. "This production is a tissue of antithesis and alliteration, and therefore justly entitled to the appellation of *affected*; but we cannot with Berkenhout consider it as a most *contemptible piece of nonsense.*[a] The moral is uniformly good; the vices and follies of the day are attacked with much force and keenness; there is in it much display of the manners of the times; and though as a composition it is very meretricious and sometimes absurd in point of ornament, yet the construction of its sentences is frequently turned with peculiar neatness and spirit, though with much monotony of cadence." "So greatly," adds the same writer, "was the style of Euphues admired in the court of Elizabeth, and, indeed, throughout the kingdom, that it became a proof of refined manners to adopt its phraseology. Edward Blount, who republished six of Lilly's plays in 1632, under the title of *Sixe Court Comedies*, declares that 'Our nation are in his debt for a new English which he taught them.' — '*Euphues* and his *England*,' he adds, 'began first that language. All our ladies were then his scholars; and that

[a] *Berkenhout's* "*Biographia Literaria*," p. 377. *note* a.

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beauty in court who could not parley Euphuisme, was as little regarded as she which now there speaks not French:' a representation certainly not exaggerated; for Ben Jonson, describing a fashionable lady, makes her address her gallant in the following terms — 'O master Brisk, (as it is in Euphues,) hard is the choice when one is compelled either by silence to die with grief, or by speaking, to live with shame:' upon which Mr. Whalley observes, that the court ladies in Elizabeth's time had all the phrases of Euphues by heart.' "[a]

Shakspeare is believed to have satirized the affectations of Lilly, amongst other prevailing modes of pedantry and bad taste, under the character of the school-master Holophernes; and, to Sidney, Drayton ascribes the merit that he

> ..... "did first reduce
> Our tongue from Lilly's writing then in use;
> Talking of stones, stars, plants, of fishes, flies,
> Playing with words and idle similies."

But in this statement there is an inaccuracy, if it refers to the better model of style furnished by him in his Arcadia; since that work, though not published till after the death of its author, is known to have been composed previously to the appearance of Euphues. Possibly, however, the lines of Drayton may be explained as alluding to the critical precepts contained in Sidney's Defence of Poetry, which was written in 1582 or 1583.

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[a] *Shakspeare and his Times: by Nathan Drake, M. D.*

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It may appear extraordinary that Philip Sidney, after his noble letter of remonstrance against the French marriage, should have consented to take so conspicuous a part in festivities designed to celebrate the arrival of commissioners, by whom its terms were to be concluded. But the actions of every man, it may be pleaded, belong in a considerable degree to his age and station; and the spirit which prompted this eminent person to aspire after all praise and every kind of glory, compelled him, at the court of Elizabeth, to unite, with whatever incongruity, the quaint personage of a knight errant of romance and an adorer of the beauties and perfections of his liege lady, with the manly attributes of an English patriot and a champion of reformed religion.

Fulke Greville furnishes another instance of a respectable character strangely disguised by the affectations and servilities of a courtier of this "Queen of Faery." He was the cousin, schoolfellow, and inseparable companion of Sidney, and so devoted to him, that in the inscription which he composed long after for his own tomb, he entitled himself "servant to queen Elizabeth, councillor to king James, and friend to sir Philip Sidney." Born to a fortune so ample as to render him entirely independent of the emoluments of office or the favors of a sovereign, and early smitten with a passion for the gentle muse which rendered him nearly insensible to the enticements of ambition, Greville was yet contented to devote himself as a volunteer, to that court-life, the irksomeness of which has

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often been regarded as insupportable by men who have embraced it from interest or necessity.

A devotedness so signal was not indeed suffered to go without its reward. Besides that it obtained for him a lucrative office, Naunton says of Greville, "He had no mean place in queen Elizabeth's favor, neither did he hold it for any short time or term; for if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease, the smoothest time without rubs, of any of her favorites." Lord Bacon also testifies, that he "had much and private access to her, which he used honorably and did many men good: yet he would say merrily of himself, that he was like Robin Goodfellow; for when the maids spilt the milk-pans or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin: so what tales the ladies about the queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him." The poems of Fulke Greville, celebrated and fashionable in his own time, but now known only to the more curious students of our early literature, consist of two tragedies in interwoven rhyme, with chorusses on the Greek model; a hundred love sonnets, in one of which he styles his mistress "Fair dog:" and "Treaties" "on Human learning," "on Fame and Honor," and "of Wars." Of these pieces, the three last, as well as the tragedies, contain many noble, free, and virtuous sentiments; many fine and ingenious thoughts; and some elegant lines; but the harshness and pedantry of the style render their perusal on the whole more a fatigue than a pleasure; and they have gradu-

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ally sunk into that neglect which awaits the verse of which it is the aim rather to instruct than delight. Among the English patrons of letters, however, Fulke Greville, afterwards lord Brook, will ever deserve a conspicuous station; and Speed and Camden have gratefully recorded their obligations both to his liberality and to his honorable employment of court-interest.

The articles of the marriage-treaty were at length concluded between the commissioners of France and England; and it was stipulated that the nuptials should take place six weeks after their ratification; but Elizabeth, whose uncertainties were not yet at an end, had insisted on a separate article, purporting that she should nevertheless not be obliged to complete the marriage until further matters, unspecified, should have been settled between herself and the duke of Anjou; by which stipulation it still remained in her power to render the whole negotiation vain.

The moment that all opposition on the part of her privy council was over, and every external obstacle surmounted, Elizabeth seems to have begun to recover her sound discretion; and to see in their true magnitude all the objections to which she had hitherto been anxious to blind her own eyes, and those of others. She sent Walsingham to open new negotiations at Paris; and to try whether the league offensive and defensive, stipulated by the late articles, could not be brought to effect before the marriage; which she now discovered that it was not a convenient season to complete. The French court, after some hesitation,

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had just been brought to agree to this proposal, when she inclined again to go on with the marriage; but no sooner had it resumed with alacrity this part of the discussion, than she again declared for the alliance. Walsingham, puzzled and vexed by such a series of capricious changes, proceeding from motives in which state-expediency had no share, remained uncertain how to act; and at length all the politicians, English and French, equally disconcerted, seem to have acquiesced in the conviction that the strife must end where it began, in the bosom of Elizabeth herself; while nothing was left for them but to await the result in anxious silence. But the duke of Anjou, aware that from a youthful lover some striking symptoms of impatience would be required, and that upon a skilful display of this kind his final success might depend, brought to a speedy conclusion his campaign in the Netherlands; which a liberal supply of money from the English queen, who now concurred in his views, had rendered uniformly successful; and putting his army into winter-quarters, hurried over to England to throw himself at her feet.

He was welcomed with all the demonstrations of satisfaction which could revive or confirm the hopes of a suitor; every mark of honor, every pledge of affection, was publicly conferred upon him; and the queen, at the conclusion of a splendid festival on the anniversary of her coronation, even went so far as to place on his finger a ring drawn from her own. This passed in sight of the whole assembled court, who naturally regarded the action as a kind of betrothment; and the long suspense

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being apparently ended, the feelings of every party broke forth without restraint or disguise.

Some rejoiced; more grieved or wondered; Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham loudly exclaimed that ruin impended over the church, the country, and the queen. The ladies of the court alarmed and agitated their mistress by tears, cries, and lamentations. A sleepless and miserable night was passed by the queen amid her disconsolate handmaids: the next morning she sent for Anjou and held with him a long private conversation, after which he retired to his chamber, and hastily throwing from him, but as quickly resuming, the ring which she had given him, uttered many reproaches against the levity of women and the fickleness of islanders.

Such is the account given by the annalist Camden; our only authority for circumstances some of them so public in their nature that it is surprising they should not be recorded by others, the rest so secret that we are at a loss to conceive how they should have become known to him. What is certain in the matter is,— that the French prince remained in England above two months after this festival; — that no diminution of the queen's attentions to him became apparent during that time; — that when his affairs imperiously demanded his return to the Netherlands, Elizabeth still detained him that she might herself conduct him on his way as far as Canterbury; — that she then dismissed him with a large supply of money and a splendid retinue of English lords and gentlemen; and that he promised a quick return.

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The following was lord Talbot's report on the subject to his father.

. . . . " Monsieur hath taken shipping into Flanders . . . . . there is gone over with him my lord of Leicester, my lord Hunsdon, my lord Charles Howard, my lord Thomas Howard, my lord Windsor, my lord Sheffield, my lord Willoughby ; and a number of young gentlemen besides. As soon as he is at Antwerp all the Englishmen return, which is thought will be about a fortnight hence. . . . The departure was mournful between her majesty and Monsieur ; she loth to let him go, and he as loth to depart. Her majesty on her retutn will be long in no place in which she lodged as she went, neither will she come to Whitehall ; because the places shall not give cause of remembrance to her of him with whom she so unwillingly parted. Monsieur promised his return in March ; but how his Low Country causes will permit him is uncertain. Her highness went no further but Canterbury ; Monsieur took shipping at Sandwich." [a]

It is, after all, extremely difficult to decide whether the circumstances here related ought to invalidate any part of Camden's narrative. There can be no doubt that Elizabeth had at times been violently tempted to accept this young prince for a husband ; and even when she sent Walsingham to France, instructed to conclude, if possible, the league without the marriage, she evidently had not in her own mind absolutely concluded against the latter measure ; because she particularly charged

[a] *Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 258.

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her ambassador to examine whether the duke, who had lately recovered from the small pox, still retained enough of his good looks to engage a lady's affections. It is probable that his second visit revived her love; and the truth of the circumstance of her publicly presenting to him a ring, is confirmed by Camden's further statement, that St. Aldegond, minister in England for the United Provinces, wrote word of it to the States; who, regarding the match as now concluded, caused public rejoicings to be celebrated at Antwerp. After this, the duke would undoubtedly press for a speedy solemnization; and he could not but have experienced some degree of disappointment in at length quitting the country, *re infecta*. But it was still greatly and obviously his interest to remain on the best possible terms with Elizabeth, in order to secure from her that co-operation, and those pecuniary aids, on which the success of his affairs in the Netherlands must mainly depend. It is even possible, that a further acquaintance with the state of public opinion in England, and with the temper, maxims, and personal qualities of the queen herself, might very much abate the poignancy of his mortification, or even incline him secretly to prefer the character of her ally to that of her husband. Be this as it may, the favorite son of Catherine de' Medici was a sufficient adept in the dissimulation of courts to assume with ease all the demonstrations of complacency and good understanding that the case required, whatever portion of indignation or malice he might conceal in his heart. Neither was Elizabeth a novice in the arts of feigning; and

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even without the promptings of those tender regrets which accompany a sacrifice extorted by reason from inclination, she would have been careful, by every manifestation of friendship and esteem, to smooth over the affront which her change of purpose had compelled her to put upon the brother and heir of so potent a monarch as the king of France.

Shortly after his return to the Continent the duke of Anjou lost at once his reputation and his hopes of an independent principality, in an unprincipled and abortive attempt on the liberties of the provinces which had chosen him as their protector; and his death, which soon followed, brought to a conclusion the doubts and temptations of the sage Elizabeth. It is worth observing, that in this affair appearances were kept up to the last: the English ambassador refrained from giving in his official letters any particulars of the last illness of Monsieur, lest he should aggravate the grief of her majesty; and the king of France, in violation of some established rules of court-precedence and etiquette, admitted this minister to pay his compliments of condolence before all others; professedly because he represented that princess who best loved his brother.

Bohun ends his minute description of "The habit of queen Elizabeth in public and private," with a passage proper to complete this portion of her history. "The coming of the duke d'Alençon opened a way to a more free way of living, and relaxed very much the old severe form of discipline. The queen danced often then, and omitted no sort

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of recreation, pleasing conversation, or variety of delights for his satisfaction. At the same time, the plenty of good dishes, pleasant wines, fragrant ointments and perfumes, dances, masks, and variety of rich attire, were all taken up and used to show him how much he was honored. There were then acted comedies and tragedies with much cost and splendor. When these things had once been entertained, the courtiers were never more to be reclaimed from them, and they could not be satiated or wearied with them. But when Alençon was once dismissed and gone, the queen herself left off these diversions, and betook herself as before to the care of her kingdom; and both by example and severe corrections endeavoured to reduce her nobility to their old severe way of life."

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CHAPTER XX.

1582 TO 1587.

Traits of the queen. — Brown and his sect. — Promotion of Whitgift. — Severities exercised against the puritans. — Embassy of Walsingham to Scotland. — Particulars of lord Willoughby. — Transactions with the Czar. — Death of Sussex. — Adventures of Egremont Ratcliffe — of the earl of Desmond. — Account of Raleigh — of Spenser. — Prosecutions of catholics. — Burleigh's apology for the government. — Leicester's commonwealth. — Loyal association. — Transactions with the queen of Scots. — Account of Parry. — Case of the earl of Arundel — of the earl of Northumberland. — Transactions of Leicester in Holland. — Death and character of P. Sidney — of sir H. Sidney. — Return of Leicester. — Approaching war with Spain. — Babington's conspiracy. — Trial and condemnation of the queen of Scots. — Rejoicings of the people. — Artful conduct of the queen. — Reception of the Scotch embassy. — Conduct of Davison. — Death of Mary. — Behaviour of Elizabeth. — Davison's case. — Conduct of Leicester. — Reflections.

THE disposition of Elizabeth was originally deficient in benevolence and sympathy; and prone to suspicion, pride, and anger; and we observe with pain, in the progress of her history, how much the influences to which her high station and the peculiar circumstances of her reign inevitably exposed her, tended in various modes to exasperate these constitutional faults.

The extravagant flattery administered to her

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daily and hourly, was of most pernicious effect; it not only fostered in her an absurd excess of personal vanity, but, what was worse, by filling her with exaggerated notions both of her own wisdom and of her sovereign power and prerogative, it contributed to render her rule more stern and despotic, and her mind on many points incapable of sober counsel. This effect was remarked by one of her clergy, who, in a sermon preached in her presence, had the boldness to tell her, that she who had been meek as a lamb was become an untameable heifer; for which reproof he was in his turn reprehended by her majesty on his quitting the pulpit, as "an over confident man who dishonored his sovereign."

The decay of her beauty was an unwelcome truth which all the artifices of adulation were unable to disguise from her secret consciousness; she could never behold her image in a mirror, during the latter years of her life, without transports of impotent anger; and this circumstance contributed not a little to sour her temper, while it rendered the young and lovely the chosen objects of her malignity.

On this head the following striking anecdote is given by sir John Harrington. . . . . "She did oft ask the ladies around her chamber, if they loved to think of marriage? And the wise ones did conceal well their liking hereto, as knowing the queen's judgement in this matter. Sir Matthew Arundel's fair cousin, not knowing so deeply as her fellows, was asked one day hereof, and simply said, she had thought much about mar-

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riage, if her father did consent to the man she loved. 'You seem honest, i'faith,' said the queen: 'I will sue for you to your father.'..... The damsel was not displeased hereat; and when sir Robert came to court, the queen asked him hereon, and pressed his consenting, if the match was discreet. Sir Robert, much astonied at this news, said he never heard his daughter had liking to any man, and wanted to gain knowledge of her affection; but would give free consent to what was most pleasing to her highness' will and advice. 'Then I will do the rest,' saith the queen. The lady was called in, and the queen told her that her father had given his free consent. 'Then,' replied the lady, 'I shall be happy, and please your grace.' 'So thou shalt, but not to be a fool and marry; I have his consent given to me, and I vow thou shalt never get it into thy possession. So go to thy business, I see thou art a bold one to own thy foolishness so readily.' "[a]

The perils of many kinds by which Elizabeth had found herself surrounded since her unwise and unauthorised detention of the queen of Scots, aggravated the mistrustfulness of her nature; and the severities which fear and anger led her to exercise against that portion of her subjects who still adhered to the ancient faith, increased its harshness. It is true that, since the fulmination of the papal anathema, the zealots of this church had kept no measures with respect to her either in their words, their writings, or their actions. Plans of insurrection, and even of assassination,

[a] *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

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were frequently revolved in their councils, but as often disappointed by the extraordinary vigilance and sagacity of her ministers; while the courage evinced by herself under these circumstances of severe probation was truly admirable. Bacon relates, that "the council once represented to her the danger in which she stood by the continual conspiracies against her life, and acquainted her that a man was lately taken who stood ready in a very dangerous and suspicious manner to do the deed; and they showed her the weapon wherewith he thought to have acted it. And therefore they advised her that she should go less abroad to take the air, weakly attended, as she used. But the queen answered, 'that she had rather be dead, than put in custody.'"

"Ireland," says Naunton, "cost her more vexation than any thing else; the expense of it pinched her, the ill success of her officers wearied her, and in that service she grew hard to please." She had likewise arrived at a settled persuasion that the extreme of severity was safer than that of indulgence; an opinion which, when communicated to her officers and ministers, was the occasion, especially in Ireland, of many cruel and arbitrary acts.

When angry, she observed little moderation in the expression of her feelings. In the private letters even of Cecil, whom she treated on the whole with more consideration than any other person, we find not unfrequent mention of the harsh words which he had to endure from her, sometimes as he says, on occasions when he appeared to himself deserving rather of thanks than of censure. The

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earl of Shrewsbury often complains to his correspondents of her captious and irascible temper; and we find Walsingham taking pains to console sir Henry Sidney under some manifestations of her displeasure, by the assurance that they had proceeded only from one of those transient gusts of passion for which she was accustomed to make sudden amends to her faithful servants, by new and extraordinary tokens of her favor.

There was no branch of prerogative of which Elizabeth was more tenacious than that which invested her with the sole and supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs. The persevering efforts therefore of the puritans, to obtain various relaxations or alterations of the laws which she in her wisdom had laid down for the government of the church, — on the failure of which they scrupled not to recall to her memory the strong denunciations of the Jewish prophets against wicked and irreligious princes, — at once exasperated and alarmed her; and led her to assume continually more and more of the incongruous and odious character of a protestant persecutor of protestants. But the puritans themselves must have seemed guiltless in her eyes, compared with a new sect, the principles of which, tending directly to the abrogation of all authority of the civil magistrate in spiritual concerns, called forth about this time her indignation, manifested by the utmost severity of penal infliction.

It was in the year 1580 that Robert Brown, having completed his studies in divinity at Cambridge, began to preach at Norwich against the discipline and ceremonies of the church of England; and to

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promulgate a scheme which he affirmed to be more conformable to the apostolical model. According to his system, each congregation of believers was to be regarded as a separate church, possessing in itself full jurisdiction over its own concerns: the *liberty of prophesying* was to be indulged to all the brethren equally, and pastors were to be elected and dismissed at the pleasure of the majority, in whom he held that all power ought of right to reside. On account of these opinions Brown was called before certain ecclesiastical commissioners, who imprisoned him for contumacy; but the interference of his relation, lord Burleigh, procured his release, after which he repaired to Holland, where he founded several churches and published a book in defence of his system, in which he strongly inculcated upon his disciples the duty of separating themselves from what he called antichristian churches. For the sole offence of distributing this work, two men were hanged in Suffolk in 1583; to which extremity of punishment they were subjected as having impugned the queen's supremacy, an offence which was declared felony by a late statute, now for the first time put in force against protestants. Brown himself, after his return from Holland, was repeatedly imprisoned; and, but for the protection of his powerful kinsman, might probably have shared the fate of his two disciples. At length, the terror of a sentence of excommunication urged him to recant; and entering the church he soon obtained preferment. But the Brownist sect suffered little by the desertion of its founder, whose private character was far

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from exemplary: in spite of penal laws, of persecution, and even of ridicule and contempt, it survived, increased, and eventually became the model on which the churches of the sect of Independents were constituted, and which they retain at the present day.

The death of archbishop Grindal, in 1583, afforded the queen the long-desired opportunity of elevating to the primacy a prelate not inclined to offend her, like his predecessor, by any remissness in putting in force the laws against puritans and other non-conformists. She nominated to this high dignity Whitgift bishop of Worcester, known to polemics as the zealous antagonist of Cartwright the puritan, and further recommended to her majesty by his single life, his talents for business, whether secular or ecclesiastical, his liberal and hospitable style of living, and the numerous train of attendants which swelled the pomp of his appearance on occasions of state and ceremony; when he even claimed to be served on the knee.

This promotion forms an important æra in the ecclesiastical history of the reign of Elizabeth: but for the purposes of the present work, it will suffice to point out a few circumstances more peculiarly illustrative of the sentiments and disposition of Whitgift, of the queen herself, and of some of her principal counsellors.

To bring back the clergy to that uniformity with respect to doctrines, rites and ceremonies, from which the lenity of his predecessor had suffered them in many instances to recede, appeared to the new primate the first and most essential duty of

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his office; and the better to enforce obedience, he eagerly demanded to be armed with that plenitude of power which her majesty, as head of the church, was authorised to delegate at her pleasure. His request was granted with alacrity, and the work began. Subscriptions were now required of the whole clerical body to the supremacy; to the book of common-prayer; and to the articles of religion settled by the convocation of 1560. In consequence of this first step alone, so large a number of zealous preachers and able divines attached to the Calvinistic model were suspended from their functions for non-compliance, that the council took alarm; and addressed a letter to the archbishop, requesting a conference; but the prelate loftily reproved their interference in matters of this nature, declaring himself amenable, in the discharge of his functions, to his sovereign alone. In the following year he prevailed upon her majesty to appoint a second high-commission court, the members of which were authorised, *ex officio*, to administer interrogatories on oath in matters of faith; — an assumption of power not merely cruel and oppressive, but absolutely illegal; if we are to rely on Beal, clerk of the council; an able and learned, but somewhat intemperate partisan of the puritans, who published on this occasion a work against the archbishop. To enter into controversy was now no part of the plan of Whitgift; he held it as a maxim, that it was safer and better for an established church to silence than to confute; and a book of Calvinistic discipline having issued from the Cambridge press, he procured a Starchamber

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decree for lessening and limiting the number of printing presses; for restraining any man from exercising the trade of a printer without a special license; and for subjecting all works to the censorship of the archbishop or the bishop of London. At the same time he vehemently declared, that he would rather lie in prison all his life, or even die, than grant any indulgence to puritans; and he expressed his wonder, as well as indignation, that men high in place should countenance the factious portion of the clergy, low and obscure individuals, and not even considerable by their numbers, against him, the second person of the state. The earl of Leicester, however, was not to be intimidated from extending to these conscientious sufferers a protection which was in many instances effectual: Walsingham occasionally interceded in behalf of Calvinistic preachers of eminence; and sir Francis Knolles, whose influence with the queen was considerable, never failed to encounter the measures of the primate with warm, courageous, and persevering opposition. Even Burleigh, whom Whitgift regarded as a friend and patron, and hoped to number among his partisans, could not forbear expressing to him on various occasions his serious disapprobation of the rigors now resorted to; nor was he to be silenced by the plea of the archbishop, that he acted entirely by the command of her majesty. On the contrary, as instances multiplied daily before his eyes of the tyranny and persecution exercised, through the extraordinary powers of the ecclesiastical commission, on ministers of unblemished piety and often of exem-

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plary usefulness, his remonstrances assumed a bolder tone and more indignant character: as in the following instance. "But when the said lord treasurer understood, that two of these ministers, living in Cambridgeshire, whom for the good report of their modesty and peaceableness he had a little before recommended unto the archbishop's favor, were by the archbishop in commission sent to a register in London, to be strictly examined upon those four and twenty articles before mentioned, he was displeased. And reading over the articles himself, disliked them, as running in a Romish style, and making no distinction of persons. Which caused him to write in some earnestness to the archbishop, and in his letter he told him, that he found these articles so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys. And that this juridical and canonical sifting of poor ministers was not to edify and reform. And that in charity he thought, they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy: Begging his grace to bear with that one fault, if it were so, that he had willed these ministers not to answer those articles, except their consciences might suffer them." [a]

The archbishop, in a long and labored answer, expressed his surprise at his lordship's "vehement speeches" against the administering of interroga-

[a] *Life of Whitgift, by Strype.*

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tories, "seeing it was the ordinary course in other courts; as in the star-chamber, in the courts of the marches, and in other places:" and he advanced many arguments, or assertions, in defence of his proceedings, none of which proved satisfactory to the lord treasurer, as appeared by his reply. In the end, the archbishop found himself obliged to compromise this dispute by engaging, that in future the twenty-four articles should only be administered to students in divinity previously to their ordination; and not to ministers already settled in cures, unless they should have openly declared themselves against the church-government by law established. But this instance of concession, which was extorted from him by the urgency of Walsingham, appears to have been a solitary one; the high commission, with the archbishop at its head, proceeded unrelentingly in the work of establishing conformity, and crushing with a strong hand all appeals to the sense of the public on controverted points of discipline or doctrine.

The queen, vehemently prepossessed with the idea that the opposers of episcopacy must likewise be ill affected to monarchy, made no scruple of declaring, after some years' experience of the untameable spirit of the sect, that the puritans were greater enemies of hers than the papists; and in the midst of her utmost perils from the machinations of the latter sect, she seldom judged it necessary to conciliate by indulgence the attachment of the former. Several Calvinistic ministers during the course of the reign, were subjected even to capital punishment on account of the scruples

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which they entertained respecting the lawfulness of acknowledging the queen's supremacy: on the other hand, the attempts of sir Francis Knolles to inspire her majesty with jealousy of the designs of the archbishop, by whom some advances were made towards asserting for the episcopal order an authority by divine right, independently of the appointment of the head of the church, failed entirely of success. No ecclesiastic had ever been able to acquire so great an ascendency over the mind of Elizabeth as Whitgift: there was a conformity in their views, and as in some points a sympathy in their characters, which seems to have secured to the primate the sanction and approval of his sovereign in all his undertakings; his favor continued unimpaired with her to the latest hour of her life; it was from his lips that she desired to receive the final consolations of religion; and regret for her death, from the apprehension of unwelcome changes in the ecclesiastical establishment under the auspices of her successor, is believed to have contributed to the attack which carried off the archbishop soon after the decease of his gracious and lamented mistress.

Elizabeth took an important though secret part in the struggles for power among the Scottish nobles of opposite factions by which that kingdom was now agitated during several years. It has been suspected, but seems scarcely probable, that she was concerned in the conspiracy called the raid of Ruthven for seizing the person of the young king; she certainly, however, subsequently interposed to mitigate his anger against the partici-

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pators in that dark design. On the whole, she was able to gain all the influence in the court of Scotland which she found necessary to her ends; for James could always be intimidated, and his minions most frequently bribed or cajoled. She regarded it, however, as an object of some consequence to gain an accurate knowledge of the character and capacity of her young kinsman, from one on whom she could rely; and for this purpose she prevailed on Walsingham, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, to undertake an embassy into Scotland, of which the ostensible objects were so trifling, that its real purpose became perfectly evident to the more sagacious of James's counsellors. Melvil confesses, that it cost him prodigious pains to equip the king, at short notice, with so much of artificial dignity and borrowed wisdom as might enable him to pass successfully through the ordeal of Walsingham's examination. But his labor was not thrown away; for James, who really possessed considerable quickness of parts and a competent share of book learning, played with such plausibility the part assigned him, that even this sagacious statesman is believed to have returned impressed with a higher opinion of his abilities than any part of his after conduct was found to warrant.

Her increasing apprehensions from the hostility of the king of Spain, caused Elizabeth to cultivate with added zeal the friendship of the northern powers of Europe; and in 1582 she sent the garter to the king of Denmark as a pledge of amity; making at the same time a fruitless endeavour to obtain for English merchant-ships some remission

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of the duties newly levied by the Danish sovereign on the passage of the Sound. It was the prudent practice of her majesty to intrust these embassies of compliment to young noblemen lately come into possession of their estates, who, for her favor and their own honor, were willing to discharge them in a splendid manner at their private expense. The Danish mission was the price which she exacted from Peregrine Bertie, who had been lately called up to the house of peers as lord Willoughby of Eresby in right of his mother, for her reluctant and ungracious recognition of his undeniable title to this dignity.

On the occurrence of this first mention of a high-spirited nobleman, afterwards celebrated for a brilliant valor which rendered him the idol of popular fame, the remarkable circumstances of his birth and parentage must not be omitted. His mother, only daughter and heir of the ninth lord Willoughby by a Spanish lady of high birth, who had been maid of honor to queen Catherine of Arragon, was first the ward and afterwards the third wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, by whom she had two sons, formerly mentioned as victims to the sweating-sickness.

Few ladies of that age chose long to continue in the unprotected state of widowhood; and the duchess had already re-entered the matrimonial state with Richard Bertie, a person of obscure birth but liberal education, when the accession of Mary exposed her to all the cruelties and oppressions exercised without remorse by the persecutors of that reign upon such of their private

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enemies as they could accuse of being also the enemies of the Romish church. The duchess, during the former reign, had drawn upon herself the bitter enmity of Gardiner by some imprudent and insulting manifestations of her abhorrence of his character and contempt for his religion; and she now learned with dismay that it was his intention to subject her to a strict interrogatory on the subject of her faith.

Except apostasy, there was no other resource than the hazardous and painful one of voluntary banishment, and this she without hesitation adopted. Bertie first obtained license for quitting the country on some pretended business; and soon after, the duchess, attended only by two or three domestics, escaped by night with her infant daughter from her house in Barbican, and taking boat on the Thames arrived at a port in Kent. Here she embarked; and through many perils; — for stress of weather compelled her to put back into an English port, and the search was every where very strict; — she reached at length a more hospitable shore, and rejoined her husband at Santon in the duchy of Cleves. From this town, however, they were soon chased by the imminent apprehension of molestation from the bishop of Arras. It was on an October evening that, followed only by two maid-servants, on foot, through rain and mire and darkness, the forlorn wanderers began their march for Wesel, one of the Hanse-towns, about four miles distant. On their arrival, their wild and wretched appearance, with the sword which Bertie carried, gave them in the eyes of the inhabitants so sus-

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picious an appearance, that no one would harbour them; and while her husband ran from inn to inn vainly imploring admittance, the afflicted duchess was compelled to betake herself to the shelter of a church porch; and there, in that misery and desolation, and want of every thing, was delivered of a child, to whom, in memory of the circumstance, she gave the name of Peregrine. Bertie meantime, addressing himself in Latin to two young scholars whom he overheard speaking together in that language, obtained a direction to a Walloon minister, to whom the duchess had formerly shewn kindness in England. By his means such prompt and affectionate succour was administered as served to restore her to health; and here for some time they found rest for the sole of their foot. A fresh alarm then obliged them to remove into the dominions of the Palsgrave, where they had remained till the supplies which they had brought with them in money and jewels were nearly exhausted, when a friend of the duchess's having interested the king of Poland in their behalf, they fortunately received an invitation from this sovereign. Arriving in his country, after great hardships and imminent danger of their lives from the brutality of some soldiers on their way, a large demesne was assigned them by their princely protector, on which they lived in great honor and tranquillity till the happy accession of Elizabeth recalled them to their native land.

Peregrine lord Willoughby found many occasions of distinguishing himself in the wars of Flanders, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant-gene-

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ral. He was not less magnanimous than brave; and disdaining the servility of a court life, is thought to have enjoyed on this account less of the queen's favor than her admiration of military merit would otherwise have prompted her to bestow upon him. He died governor of Berwick in 1601; his son was afterwards created earl of Lindsey, and the title of duke of Ancaster was borne by his descendants.

The king of Sweden, conducted to the brink of ruin by an unequal contest with the arms of Russia, sent in 1583, a solemn embassy to the queen of England to entreat her to mediate a peace for him. This good work, in which she cheerfully engaged, was speedily brought to a happy issue; and the Czar seized the opportunity of the negotiations to press for the conclusion of that league offensive and defensive with England, which he had formerly proposed in vain. The objection, that such an alliance was inconsistent with the laws of nations, since it might engage the queen to commit hostilities on princes against whom she had never declared war, made, as might be expected, little impression on this barbarian; and Elizabeth had considerable difficulty in escaping from the intimate embrace of his proffered friendship, to the cool civilities of a commercial treaty. Another perplexing circumstance occurred. The Czar had set his heart upon an English wife; some say he ventured to address the queen herself; but however this might be, she was about to gratify his wish by sending him for a bride a lady of royal blood, sister of the earl of Huntingdon, when the

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information which she received of the unlimited privilege of divorce exercised by his Muscovite majesty, deterred her from completing her project. She was in consequence obliged to excuse the failure on the ground of the delicate health of the young lady, the reluctance of her brother to part with her, and, what must have filled the despot with astonishment, her own inability to dispose of her female subjects in marriage against the consent of their own relations.

About this time died the earl of Sussex. In him the queen was deprived of a faithful and honorable counsellor, and an affectionate kinsman; Leicester lost the antagonist whom he most dreaded, and the nobility one of its principal ornaments. Dying childless, his next brother succeeded him, in whom the race ended; for Egremont Ratcliffe, his youngest brother, had already completed his disastrous destiny. This unfortunate gentleman, it will be remembered, was rendered a fugitive and an outlaw by the part which he had taken, at a very early age, in the Northern rebellion. For several years he led a forlorn and rambling life, sometimes in Flanders, sometimes in Spain, deriving his sole support from an ill paid pension and occasional donations of Philip II.; and often enduring extremities of poverty and hardship.

Wearied with so many sufferings in a desperate cause, he then employed all his endeavours to make his peace at home; and impatient at length of the suspense which he was made to endure, he took the step of returning to England at all hazards, and throwing himself on the compassion of lord Bur-

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leigh. The treasurer, touched with his misery and his expressions of penitence, interceded with the queen for his pardon; but she, on some fresh occasion of suspicion, caused him to be advised to steal out of the kingdom again; and neglecting this intimation, he was committed to the Tower. After some months he was released; possibly under a promise of attempting some extraordinary piece of service to his country, and was sent back to Flanders, where he was soon after apprehended on a charge of conspiring against the life of don John of Austria: some affirm, and some deny, that he confessed his guilt and acccused the English ministry of a participation in the design: whatever might be the truth in this respect, he perished by the hand of public justice, a lamentable victim to the guilty violence of the faction which first beguiled his inexperience; to the relentless policy of Elizabeth, which forbade the return of offenders perhaps not incorrigible; and to the desperation which, gaining dominion over his mind, subverted by degrees all his moral principles.

Ireland had been as usual the scene of much danger and disturbance. In 1582 an attempt was made by the king of Spain to incite the catholic inhabitants to a general rebellion, by throwing on the coast a small body of troops, seconded by a very considerable sum of money, and attended by a number of priests prepared to preach up his title to the sovereignty of the island in virtue of the papal donation. But the vigorous measures of Arthur lord Grey the deputy, by holding the Irish in check, rendered this effort abortive. The Spa-

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niards, unable to penetrate into the country, raised a fort near the place of their landing, which they hoped to be able to hold out till the arrival of reinforcements. They obstinately refused the terms of surrender first offered them by the deputy; and the fort being afterwards taken by assault, the whole garrison, with the exception of the officers, were put to the sword: an act of rigour which the deputy is said to have commanded with tears, in obedience to the decision of a court-martial, from which he could not venture to depart; and which Elizabeth publicly reprobated, perhaps without internally condemning.

The earl of Desmond, who on the arrival of the Spanish troops had risen in arms against the government with all the power he could muster, was excepted from the general pardon granted to other Irish insurgents; and thus remaining by necessity in a state of rebellion, gave for some time considerable disquiet, if not alarm, to the English government. But his resources of every kind gradually falling off, he was hunted about through bogs and forests, from one fastness or lurking-place to another, enduring every kind of privation and hardship, and often foiling his pursuers by hair-breadth 'scapes. It is even related that he and his countess on one occasion, being roused from their bed in the middle of the night, found no other mode of concealment than that of wading up to their necks in the river which bathed the walls of their retreat. At length, a small party of soldiers having entered by surprize a solitary cabin, found one old man sitting alone, to whom their brutal leader

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gave a blow with his sword, which nearly cut off his arm, and another on the side of his head; on which he cried out, "I am the earl of Desmond." The name was no protection; for, perceiving that he bled fast and was unable to march, the ruthless soldier, bidding him prepare for instant death, struck off his head, and brought it away as a trophy; leaving the mangled trunk to the chance of interment by any faithful follower of the house of Fitzgerald who might venture from his hiding-place to explore the fate of his chief. The head was sent to England as a present to the queen, and placed by her command on London Bridge.

From this time (the beginning of 1583,) Ireland enjoyed a short respite from scenes of violence and blood under the vigorous yet humane administration of sir John Perrot, the new deputy.

The petty warfare of this turbulent province, amid the many and great evils of various kinds which it brought forth, was productive, however, of some contingent advantage to the queen's affairs, by serving as a school of military discipline to many an officer of merit, whose abilities she afterwards found occasion to employ in more important enterprizes to check the power of Spain. Ireland was, in particular, the scene of several of the early exploits of that brilliant and versatile genius Walter Raleigh; and it was out of his service in this country that an occasion arose for his appearing before her majesty, which he had the talent and dexterity so to improve as to make it the origin of all his favor and advancement. Raleigh was the poor younger brother of a decayed but an-

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cient family in Devonshire. His education at Oxford was yet incomplete, when the ardor of his disposition impelled him to join a gallant band of a hundred volunteers, led by his relation Henry Champernon, in 1569, to the aid of the French protestants. Here he served a six years' apprenticeship to the art of war, after which, returning to his own country, he gave himself for a while to the more tranquil pursuits of literature; for "both Minervas" claimed him as their own. In 1578 he resumed his arms under general Norris, commander of the English forces in the Netherlands; the next year, ambitious of a new kind of glory, he accompanied that gallant navigator sir Humphrey Gilbert, his half brother, in a voyage to Newfoundland. This expedition proving unfortunate, he obtained in 1580 a captain's commission in the Irish service; and recommended by his vigor and capacity, rose to be governor of Cork. He was the officer appointed to carry into effect the bloody sentence passed upon the Spanish garrison; a cruel service, but one which the duty of military obedience rendered matter of indispensable obligation. A quarrel with lord Grey put a stop to his promotion in Ireland; and on his following this nobleman to England, their difference was brought to a hearing before the privy council; when the great talents and uncommon flow of eloquence exhibited by Raleigh in pleading his own cause, raised the admiration of all present, and proved the means of introducing him to the presence of the queen. His comely person, fine address, and prompt proficiency in the arts of a courtier, did all the rest; and he

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rapidly rose to such a height of royal favor as to inspire with jealousy even him who had long stood foremost in the good graces of his sovereign.

It is recorded of Raleigh during the early days of his court attendance, when a few handsome suits of clothes formed almost the sum total of his worldly wealth, that as he was accompanying the queen in one of her daily walks,—during which she was fond of giving audience, because she imagined that the open air produced a favorable effect on her complexion,—she arrived at a miry spot, and stood in perplexity how to pass. With an adroit presence of mind, the courtier pulled off his rich plush cloak and threw it on the ground to serve her for a foot-cloth. She accepted with pleasure an attention which flattered her, and it was afterwards quaintly said, that the spoiling of a cloak had gained him many *good suits*.

It was in Ireland too that Edmund Spenser, one of our first genuine poets,—whose rich and melodious strains will find delighted audience as long as inexhaustible fertility of invention, truth, fluency, and vivacity of description, copious learning, and a pure, amiable, and heart-ennobling morality shall be prized among the students of English verse,—was now tuning his enchanting lyre; and the ear of Raleigh soon caught its strains. This eminent person was probably of obscure parentage and slender means, for it was as a sizer, the lowest order of students, that he was entered at Cambridge; but that his humble merit early attracted the notice of men of learning and virtue is apparent from his intimacy with Stubbs, already commemorated, and

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from his friendship with a noted literary character, Gabriel Hervey, by whom he was introduced to the acquaintance of Philip Sidney. His leaning towards puritanical principles, clearly manifested by various passages in the Shepherd's Calendar, had probably betrayed itself to his superiors at the university, by his choice of associates, or other circumstances, previously to the publication of that piece; and possibly might have some share in the disappointment of his hopes of a fellowship which occurred in 1576. Quitting college on this occurrence, he retired for some time into the north of England; but the friendship of Sidney drew him again from his solitude, and it was at Penshurst that he composed much of his Shepherd's Calendar, published in 1579 under the signature of Immerito; and dedicated to this generous patron of his muse. The earl of Leicester, probably at his nephew's request, sent Spenser the same year on some commission to France; and in the next he obtained the post of secretary to lord Grey, and attended him to Ireland.

Though the child of fancy and the muse, Spenser now showed that business was not "the contradiction of his fate;" he drew up an excellent discourse on the state of Ireland, still read and valued, and received as his reward the grant of a considerable tract of land out of the forfeited Desmond estates, and of the castle of Kilcolman, which henceforth became his residence, and where he had soon the satisfaction of receiving a visit from Raleigh. Both pupils of classical antiquity, both

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poets and aspirants after immortal fame, they met in this land of ignorance and barbarity as brothers; and so strong was the impression made on the mind of Raleigh, that even on becoming a successful courtier, he dismissed not from his memory or his affection the tuneful shepherd whom he had left behind, tending his flocks "under the foot of Mole, that mountain hoar." He spoke of him to the queen with all the enthusiasm of kindred genius; obtained for him some favors, or promises of favors; and on a second visit which he made to Ireland, probably for the purpose of inspecting the large grants which he had himself obtained, he drew his friend from his obscure retreat, carried him over with him to England, and hastened to initiate him in those arts of pushing a fortune at court, which had succeeded so remarkably with himself. But bitterly did the disappointed poet learn to deprecate the mistaken kindness which had taught him to exchange leisure and independence, though in a solitude so barbarous and remote, for the servility, the intrigues, and the treacheries of this heart-sickening scene. His grief and his repentance have been placed upon lasting record by the following lines of energetic warning to the inexperienced in the ways of courts:

"Full little knowest thou that hast not tried
What hell it is in suing long to bide;
To lose good days that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;

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To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers;
To have thy asking, yet wait many years;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run;
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

Having thus given vent to the bitterness of his soul, the poet hastened back to earn in obscurity his title to immortal fame by the composition of the Faery Queen. This great work appeared in 1589, with a preface addressed to Raleigh and a considerable apparatus of recommendatory poems; one of them, a sonnet of great elegance, is marked with initials which assign it to Raleigh.

The proceedings of the administration against catholics accused of treasonable practices or designs, began about this time to excite considerable perturbation in the public mind; for though circumstances were brought to light which seemed to justify in some degree the worst suspicions entertained of this faction, a system of policy on the part of the government also disclosed itself, which no true Englishman could contemplate without indignation and horror. The earl of Leicester, besides partaking with the other confidential advisers of her majesty in the blame attached to the general character of the measures now pursued, lay under the popular imputation of making these acts of power subservient, in many atrocious instances, to his private purposes of rapacity or vengeance; and a cloud of odium was raised against him which the breath of his indulgent sovereign was in vain exerted to disperse.

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There was in Warwickshire a catholic gentleman named Somerville; a person of violent temper and somewhat disordered in mind; who had been worked up, by the instigations of one Hall his confessor, to such a pitch of fanatical phrensy, that he set out for London with the fixed purpose of killing the queen; but falling furiously upon some of her protestant subjects by the way, he was apprehended, and readily confessed the object of his journey. Being closely questioned, perhaps with torture, he is said to have dropped something which touched Mr. Arden his father-in-law; and Hall on examination affirmed that this gentleman had been made privy to the bloody purpose of Somerville. On this bare assertion of the priest, unconfirmed, as appears, by any collateral evidence, Arden was indicted of high treason, found guilty, and underwent the whole sentence of the law. It happened to be publicly known that Arden was the personal enemy of Leicester; that he had refused to wear his livery; — a base kind of homage which was paid him without scruple, as it seems, by other neighbouring gentlemen; — and was in the habit of reproaching him with the murder of his first wife. The wife of Arden, also, was the sister of sir Nicholas Throgmorton; whom Leicester was vulgarly supposed to have poisoned; and of the chief justice of Chester lately displaced. When, therefore, in addition to these circumstances of suspicion, it was further observed that Somerville, instead of being produced to deny or confirm on the scaffold the evidence which he was said to have given

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against Arden, died strangled in prison; by his own hand as was asserted; — when it was seen that Hall, who was confessedly the instigator of the whole, and further obnoxious to the laws as a catholic priest, was quietly sent out of the kingdom by Leicester's means, in spite of the opposition of sir Christopher Hatton; — and finally, when it appeared that the forfeited lands of Arden went to enrich a creature of the same great man; — this victim of law was regarded as a martyr, and it was found impossible to tie up the tongues of men from crying shame and vengeance on his cruel and insidious destroyer.

The plot thickened when Francis Throgmorton, son of the degraded judge of Chester, was singled out for prosecution. Some intercepted letters to the queen of Scots formed the first ground of this gentleman's arrest; but being carried to the Tower, he was there racked to extort further discoveries; and lord Paget, and Charles Arundel, a courtier, quitted the kingdom in haste as soon as they knew him to be in custody. After this many of the leading catholics fell into suspicion; particularly the earls of Northumberland and Arundel; who were ordered to confine themselves to their houses; lord William Howard, brother to the earl of Arundel, and his uncle, lord Henry Howard, were likewise subjected to several long and rigorous examinations, but were dismissed at length because no charge could be substantiated against them. The confessions of Throgmorton also implicated the Spanish ambassador; who replied in so high a tone to the representations made him on the sub-

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ject, that her majesty commanded him to quit the kingdom.

Francis Throgmorton was condemned, and suffered as a traitor; and, it is probable, not undeservedly: there was reason also to believe that a dangerous activity was exercised by the queen of Scots and her agents; and that the letters which she found means of conveying not only to the heads of the catholic party, but to all whose connections led her to imagine them in any degree favourable to the cause, had shaken the allegiance of numbers. On the other hand, the catholics complained, and certainly not without reason, of dark and detestable means employed by the ministry to betray and ensnare them. Counterfeited letters, it seems, were often addressed to gentlemen of this persuasion, purporting to come either from the queen of Scots, or from certain English exiles, and soliciting concurrence in some scheme for her deliverance, or some design against the government. If the unwary receivers either answered the letters, or simply forbore to deliver them up to the secretary of state, their houses were entered; search was made for these papers by the emissaries of government, who were themselves the fabricators of them; the unfortunate owners were dragged to prison as suspected persons; and interrogated, and perhaps tortured, till they discovered all that they knew of the secrets of the party. Spies were planted upon them, every unguarded word was caught up and interpreted in the worst sense, and false or frivolous accusations were greedily entertained.

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Walsingham, next to Leicester, bore the chief odium of these proceedings; but to him no corrupt motives or private ends ever appear to have been imputed in particular cases; though an anxiety to preserve his place, and to recommend himself to the queen his mistress by an extraordinary manifestation of care for her safety and zeal in her service, may not unfairly be supposed to have influenced the general character of his policy.

The loud complaints of the catholics had excited so strong and so widely diffused a sentiment of compassion for them and indignation against their oppressors, that it was judged expedient to publish an apology for the measures of government, written either by lord Burleigh himself or under his direction; which bore the title of "A Declaration of the favourable Dealing of her Majesty's Commissioners appointed for the Examination of certain Traitors, and of Tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for Matters of Religion."

It thus begins: "Good reader; although her majesty's most mild and gracious government be sufficient to defend itself against those most slanderous reports of heathenish and unnatural tyranny and cruel tortures pretended to have been exercised upon certain traitors who lately suffered for their treason, and others; as well as spread abroad by rungates, Jesuits, and seminary men in their seditious books, letters, and libels, in foreign countries and princes' courts, as also intimated into the hearts of some of our own countrymen and her majesty's subjects.... I have con-

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ferred with a very honest gentleman whom I knew to have good and sufficient means to deliver the truth." And the following are the heads of this "honest gentleman's" testimony. "It is affirmed for truth, and is offered upon due examination to be proved,".... "that the forms of torture in their severity or rigor of execution have not been such as is slanderously represented".... "that even the principal offender Campion himself".... "before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherein he was charitably used, was never so racked but that he was presently able to walk and to write; and did presently write and subscribe all his confessions." That Briant, a man said to have been reduced to such extremities of hunger and thirst in prison, that he ate the clay out of the walls and drank the droppings of the roof, was kept in that state by his own fault; for certain treasonable writings being found upon him he was required to give a specimen of his handwriting; which refusing to do, he was told he should have no food till he wrote for what he wanted, and after fasting nearly two days and nights he complied. Also, that both with respect to these two and others, it might be affirmed that the warders, whose office it was to use the rack, "were ever by those that attended the examinations specially charged to use it in as charitable a manner as such a thing might be."

Secondly, that none of those catholics who have been racked during her majesty's reign were, "upon the rack or in any other torture," demanded of any points of faith and doctrine merely;

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" but only with what persons, at home or abroad, and touching what plots and practices they had dealt..... about attempts against her majesty's estate or person, or to alter the laws of the realm for matters of religion, by treason or by force; and how they were persuaded themselves, and did persuade others, touching the pope's pretence of authority to depose kings and princes; and namely for deprivation of her majesty, and to discharge subjects from their allegiance."

"Thirdly, that none of them have been put to the rack or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason, or such like, but where it was first known and evidently probable, by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the party was guilty, and could deliver truth of the things wherewith he was charged; so as it was first assured that no innocent was at any time tormented, and the rack was never used to wring out confessions at adventure upon uncertainties."

" Fourthly, that none of them hath been racked or tortured, unless he had first said expressly, or amounting to as much, that he will not tell the truth though the queen did command him."

" Fifthly, that the proceeding to torture was always so slowly, so unwillingly, and with so many preparations of persuasions to spare themselves, and so many means to let them know that the truth was by them to be uttered, both in duty to her majesty, and in wisdom for themselves, as whosoever was present at those actions must needs acknowledge in her majesty's ministers a full purpose to follow the example of her own gracious disposition."

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. . . . . "Thus it appeareth, that albeit, by the more general laws of nations, torture hath been and is lawfully judged to be used in lesser cases, and in sharper manner, for inquisition of truth in crimes not so near extending to public danger as these ungracious persons have committed, whose conspiracies, and the particularities thereof, it did so much import and behove to have disclosed; yet even in that necessary use of such proceeding, enforced by the offenders' notorious obstinacy, is nevertheless to be acknowledged the sweet temperature of her majesty's mild and gracious clemency, and their slanderous lewdness to be the more condemned, that have in favour of heinous malefactors and stubborn traitors spread untrue rumours and slanders, to make her merciful government disliked; under false pretence and rumours of sharpness and cruelty to those against whom nothing can be cruel, and yet upon whom nothing hath been done but gentle and merciful."

This is a document which speaks sufficiently for itself. Torture, in any shape, was at this time, and had always been, absolutely contrary to the law of the land; and, happily, there was enough of true English feeling in the country, even under the rule of a Tudor, to render it expedient for Elizabeth, soon after the exposition of these "favourable dealings" of her commissioners, to issue an order that no species of it should in future be applied to state-prisoners on any pretext whatsoever.

Parsons the Jesuit, who had been fortunate enough to make his escape when his associate Campion was apprehended, is believed to have been the

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catholic who sought to avenge his party on its capital enemy by the composition of that virulent invective called "Leicester's Commonwealth:" a pamphlet which was printed in Flanders in 1584, and of which a vast number of copies were imported into England, where it obtained, from the colour of the leaves and the supposed author, the familiar title of "Father Parsons' Green Coat." In this work, all the current stories against the unpopular favorite were collected and set forth as well attested facts; and they were related with that circumstantiality of detail which is too apt to pass upon the common reader as the certain and authentic character of truth. The success of this book was prodigious; it was read universally and with the utmost avidity. All who envied Leicester's power and grandeur; all who had smarted under his insolence, or felt the gripe of his rapacity; all who had been scandalized, or wounded in family honor, by his unbridled licentiousness; all who still cherished in their hearts the image of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, whom he was believed to have entangled in a deadly snare; all who knew him for the foe and suspected him for the murderer of the gallant and lamented earl of Essex; — finally, all, and they were nearly the whole of the nation, who looked upon him as a base and treacherous miscreant, shielded by the blind affection of his sovereign and wrapped in a cloud of hypocrisy and artifice, who aimed in the dark his envenomed weapons against the bosom of innocence; — exulted in this exposure of his secret crimes, and eagerly received and propagated for truth even the grossest

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of the exaggerations and falsehoods with which the narrative was intermixed.

Elizabeth, incensed to the last degree at so remorseless an attack upon the man in whom her confidence was irremoveably fixed, caused her council to write letters to all persons in authority for the suppression of these books, and punishment of such as were concerned in their dispersion; adding at the same time the declaration, that her majesty "testified in her conscience before God, that she knew in assured certainty the books and libels against the earl to be most malicious, false, and scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true." The letters further stated, that her majesty regarded this publication as an attempt to discredit her own government, "as though she should have failed in good judgement and discretion in the choice of so principal a councillor about her; or to be without taste or care of all justice or conscience, in suffering such heinous and monstrous crimes, as by the said books and libels be infamously imputed, to pass unpunished; or finally, at the least, to want either good will, ability, or courage, if she knew these enormities were true, to call any subject of hers whatsoever to render sharp account of them, according to the force of her laws." The councillors in their own persons afterwards went on to declare, that they, "to do his lordship but right, of their sincere consciences must needs affirm these strange and abominable crimes to be raised of a wicked and venomous malice against the said earl, of whose good service, sincerity of religion, and all

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other faithful dealings towards her majesty and the realm, they had had long and true experience."

These declarations went too far: it was not credible that either her majesty or her privy councillors should each individually know to be false all the imputations thrown upon Leicester in the libels written against him; there was even good reason to know that several, and perhaps most, of the privy councillors firmly believed many of these imputations to be true: at all events, nothing like exculpatory evidence was brought, or attempted to be brought, on the subject; consequently no effect was produced on public opinion; the whole was regarded as an *ex-parte* proceeding. Philip Sidney, who probably set out with a sincere disbelief of these shocking accusations brought against an uncle who had shown for him an affection next to parental, eagerly took up the pen in his defence. But the only point on which his refutation appears to have been triumphant, was unfortunately one of no moral import; — the antiquity and nobility of the Dudley family; falsely, as it seems, impugned by the libeller. Some inconsistencies and contradictions he indeed pointed out in other matters; but, on the whole, the answer was miserably deficient in every thing but invective, of which there was far too much; and either from a gradual perception of the badness of his cause, or the weakness of his performance; or perhaps for other reasons with which we are unacquainted, he abandoned his design; and the fragment never saw the light till the publication of the Sidney Papers about sixty years ago. But whatever might

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be the private judgements of men concerning the character and conduct of the earl of Leicester, the support of the queen, and the strength of the party which the long possession of power, and a remarkable fidelity in the observance of his engagements towards his own adherents, had enabled him to form, effectually protected him from experiencing any decline of his political influence. Of this a proof appeared soon after; when, in consequence of further disclosures of the dangerous designs of the catholics, a form of association by which the subscribers bound themselves to pursue to the utmost of their power, even to the death, all who should attempt any thing against the queen in favor of any pretender to the crown, was drawn up by this nobleman and obtained the signatures of all orders of men.

This was a measure which the queen of Scots perceived to be aimed expressly against herself, and of which she sought to divert the ill effects by all the means which were still within her power. She desired to be one of the first to whom the association should be offered for subscription; and she begged that this act might form the basis of a treaty by which all differences between herself and Elizabeth might be finally composed, and her long captivity exchanged at length, if not for absolute freedom, at least for a state of comparative independence, under articles guarantied by the principal powers of Europe. These articles, far different from the former claims of Mary, appeared to Walsingham so advantageous to his mistress, by the exemption which they seemed to promise her from

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future machinations on the part of the queen of Scots, that he strenuously urged their acceptance; but in vain. Mutual injuries, dissimulation on both sides, and causes of jealousy on the part of Elizabeth, from which all her advantages over her captive enemy had not served to set her free, now, as formerly, opposed the conclusion of any terms of agreement; and the imprudent and violent conduct of Mary served to confirm Elizabeth in her unrelentingness. Even while the terms were under discussion, a letter was intercepted addressed by the queen of Scots to Sir Francis Englefield, an English exile and a pensioner of Spain, in which she thus wrote: "Of the treaty between the queen of England and me, I may neither hope nor look for good issue. Whatsoever shall become of me, by whatsoever change of my state and condition, let the execution of the *Great Plot* go forward, without any respect of peril or danger to me. For I will account my life very happily bestowed, if I may with the same help and relieve so great a number of the oppressed children of the church.... And further, I pray you, use all possible diligence and endeavor to pursue and promote, at the pope's and other kings' hands, such a speedy execution of their former designments, that the same may be effectuated some time this next spring." It must be confessed, that after such a letter Mary had little right to complain of the failure of these negotiations. The countess of Shrewsbury, now at open variance with her husband, had employed every art to infuse into the queen suspicions of a too great intimacy subsisting between the earl

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and his prisoner; and Elizabeth, either from a jealousy which the long fidelity of Shrewsbury to his arduous trust was unable to counteract, or, as was believed, at the instigation of some who meant further mischief to Mary, ordered about this time her removal to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drugo Drury.

This change filled the mind of the captive queen with terror, which prepared her to listen with avidity to any schemes, however desperate, for her own deliverance and the destruction of her enemy; and proved the prelude to the tragical catastrophe which was now advancing fast upon her.

A violent quarrel between Mary and the countess of Shrewsbury had naturally resulted from the conduct of the countess; and Mary, whose passions, whether fierce or tender, easily hurried her beyond the bounds of decency and prudence, gratified her resentment at once against the countess and the queen, by addressing to Elizabeth a letter which could never be forgiven or forgotten. In this piece, much too gross for insertion in the present work, she professes to comply with the request of her royal sister, by acquainting her very exactly with all the evil of every kind that the countess of Shrewsbury had ever spoken of her majesty in her hearing. She then proceeds to repeat, or invent, all that the most venomous malice could devise against the character of Elizabeth: as, that she had conferred her favors on a nameless person (probably Leicester) to whom she had promised marriage; on the duke of Anjou, on Simier, on Hatton, and others; that Hatton was quite dis-

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gusted with her fondness; that she was generous to none but these favorites. That her conceit of her beauty was such, that no flattery could be too gross for her to swallow; and that this folly was the theme of ridicule to all her courtiers, who would often pretend that their eyes were unable to sustain the radiance of her countenance; — a trait, by the way, which stands on other and better authority than this malignant letter. That her temper was so furious that it was dreadful to attend upon her; — that she had broken the finger of one lady, and afterwards pretended to the courtiers that it was done by the fall of a chandelier; and that she had cut another across the hand with a knife; — stories very probably not entirely destitute of foundation. That she interfered in an arbitrary manner with the marriage of one of the countess of Shrewsbury's daughters, and wanted to engross the disposal of all the heiresses in the kingdom; — in which charge there was also some truth. This insulting epistle concluded with assurances of the extreme anxiety of the writer to see a good understanding restored between herself and Elizabeth.

Meantime, the most alarming manifestations of the inveterate hostility of the catholics against the queen continued to agitate the minds of a people who loved and honored her; and who anticipated with well founded dread the succession of another Mary, which seemed inevitable in the event of Elizabeth's death. A book was written by a Romish priest, exhorting the female attendants of her majesty to emulate the merit and glory of Judith by inflicting on her the fate of Holophernes,

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Dr. Allen, afterwards cardinal, published a work to justify and recommend the murder of a heretic prince; and by this piece, a gentleman of the name of Parry was confirmed, it is said, in the black design which he had several times revolved in his mind, but relinquished as often from misgivings of conscience.

In the history of this person there are some circumstances very remarkable. He was a man of considerable learning, but being vicious and needy, had some years before this time committed a robbery, for which he had received the royal pardon. Afterwards he went abroad, and was reconciled to the Romish church, though employed at the same time by the ministers of Elizabeth to give intelligence respecting the English exiles, whom he often recommended to pardon or favor; and sometimes apparently with success. Returning home, he gained access to the queen, who admitted him to several private interviews; and he afterwards declared, that fearing he might be tempted to put in act the bloody purpose which perpetually haunted his mind, he always left his dagger at home when he went to wait upon her. On these occasions, he apprised her majesty of the existence of many designs against her life, and endeavored, with great earnestness and plainness of speech, to convince her of the cruelty and impolicy of those laws against the papists which had rendered them her deadly foes: but finding his arguments thrown away upon the queen, he afterwards procured a seat in parliament; where he was the sole opponent of a severe act passed against the Jesuits.

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On account of the freedom with which he expressed himself on this occasion, he was for a few days imprisoned.

Soon after, a gentleman of the family of Nevil, induced it is said by the hope of obtaining as his reward the honors and lands of the rebel earl of Westmoreland lately dead, disclosed to the government a plot for assassinating the queen, in which he affirmed that Parry had engaged his concurrence. Parry confessed in prison that he had long deliberated on the means of effectually serving his church, and it appeared that he had come to the decision that the assassination of the queen's greatest subject might be lawful: a letter was also found upon him from cardinal Como, expressing approbation of some design which he had communicated to him. On this evidence he was capitally convicted; but to the last he strongly denied that the cardinal's letter, couched in general terms, referred to any attempt on the queen's person, or that he had ever entertained the design charged upon him. Unlike the other martyrs of the church of Rome at this time, he died, — not avowing and glorying in the crime charged upon him, — but earnestly protesting his innocence, his loyalty, his warm attachment to her majesty. An account of his life was published immediately afterwards by the queen's printer, written in a style of the utmost virulence, and filled with tales of his monstrous wickedness which have much the air of calumnies.

Parry was well known to lord Burleigh, with whom he had corresponded for several years; and

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the circumstance of his being brought by him to the presence of the queen, proves that this minister was far from regarding him either as the low, the infamous, or the desperate wretch that he is here represented. That he had sometimes *imagined* the death of the queen, he seems to have acknowledged; but most probably he had never so far subdued the dictates of loyalty and conscience as to have laid any plan for her destruction; or even to have resolved upon hazarding the attempt. The case, therefore, was one in which mercy and even justice seem to have required the remission of a harsh and hasty sentence; but the panic terror which had now seized the queen, the ministry, the parliament and the nation, would have sufficed to overpower the pleadings of the generous virtues in hearts of nobler mould than those of Elizabeth, of Leicester, or of Walsingham.

Nevil, the accuser of Parry, far from gaining any reward, was detained prisoner in the Tower certainly till the year 1588, and whether he ever afterwards obtained his liberation does not appear.

The severe enactments of the new parliament against papists, which included a total prohibition of every exercise of the rites of their religion, so affected the mind of Philip Howard earl of Arundel, already exasperated by the personal hardships to which the suspicions of her majesty and the hostility of her ministers had exposed him; that he formed the resolution of banishing himself for ever from his native land. Having secretly prepared every thing for his departure, he put his whole case upon record in a letter addressed to her majesty,

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and left behind him at his house in London. This piece ought, as it appears, to have excited in the breast of his sovereign sentiments of regret and compunction rather than indignation. The writer complains, that without any offence given on his part, or even objected against him by her majesty, he had long since fallen into her disfavour, as by her "bitter speeches" had become publicly known; so that he was generally accounted, "nay in a manner pointed at, as one whom her majesty least favored; and in most disgrace as a person whom she did deeply suspect and especially mislike." That after he had continued for some months under this cloud, he had been called sundry times by her command before the council, where charges had been brought against him, some of them ridiculously trifling, others incredible, all so untrue, that even his greatest enemies could not, after his answers were made, reproach him with any disloyal thought; — yet was he in the end ordered to keep his house. That his enemies still pursued him with interrogatories, and continued his restraint; and that even after the last examination had failed to produce any thing against him, he was kept fifteen weeks longer in the same state, though accused of nothing. That when, either his enemies being ashamed to pursue these proceedings further, or her majesty being prevailed upon by his friends to put an end to them, he had at length recovered his liberty, he had been led to meditate on the fates of his three unfortunate ancestors, all circumvented by their enemies, and two of them (the earl of Surry his grandfather, and the duke of

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Norfolk his father,) brought for slight causes to an untimely end. And having weighed their cases with what had just befallen himself, he concluded that it might well be his lot to succeed them in fortune as in place. His foes were strong to overthrow, he weak to defend himself; since innocence, he had found, was no protection; her majesty being "easily drawn to an ill opinion of" his "ancestry;" and moreover, he had been "charged by the council to be of the religion which was accounted odious and dangerous to her estate." "Lastly," he adds, "but principally, I weighed in what miserable doubtful case my soul had remained if my life had been taken, as it was not unlikely, in my former troubles. For I protest, the greatest burden that rested on my conscience at that time was, because I had not lived according to the prescript rule of that which I undoubtedly believed."

The earl had actually embarked at a small port in Sussex, when, his project having been betrayed to the government by the mercenary villany of the master of the vessel and of one of his own servants, orders were issued for his detention, and he was brought back in custody and committed to the Tower. The letter just quoted was then produced against him; it was declared to reflect on the justice of the country; and for the double offence of having written it and of attempting to quit the kingdom without licence, he underwent a long imprisonment and was arbitrarily sentenced to a fine of one thousand pounds; which he proved his inability to pay. The barbarous tyranny which

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held his body in thraldom, served at the same time to rivet more strongly upon his mind the fetters of that stern superstition which had gained dominion over him. The more he endured for his religion, the more awful and important did it appear in his eyes; while in proportion to the severity and tediousness of his sufferings from without, his mental prospects became continually more cheerless and terrific; and dreading in a future world the prolonged operation of that principle of cruelty under which he groaned in this, he sought to avert its action by practising upon himself all the rigours of ascetism. The sequel of his melancholy history we shall have occasion to contemplate hereafter.

Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to that earl who had suffered death on account of the northern rebellion; — by his participation in which he had himself incurred a fine, though it was afterwards remitted; — was naturally exposed at this juncture to vehement suspicions. After some examinations before the council, cause was found for his committal to the Tower; and here, according to the iniquitous practice of the age, he remained for a considerable time without being brought to trial. At length the public was informed that another prisoner on a like account, on being tortured to force disclosures, had revealed matters against the earl of Northumberland amounting to treason; on which account he had thought fit to anticipate the sentence of the law by shooting himself through the heart. That the earl was indeed the author of his own death appears to have been proved before a coroner's jury by abun-

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dant and unexceptionable testimony; as well as by his deliberate precautions for making his lands descend to his son, and his indignant declaration that the queen, on whom he bestowed a most opprobrious epithet, should never have his estate: though it may still bear a doubt whether a consciousness of guilt, despair of obtaining justice, or merely the misery of an indefinite captivity, were the motive of the rash act; but the catholics, actuated by the true spirit of party, added without scruple the death of this nobleman to the "foul and midnight murders" perpetrated within those gloomy precincts.

That opposition to popery, which imperious circumstances had rendered the reigning principle of English policy, was now to be maintained in another field, and with nobler weapons than those of an inquisitorial high commission court, or a stern system of penal enactments; and all the more generous and adventurous spirits prepared with alacrity, to draw the sword in the noble cause of Belgian independence, against the united tyranny and bigotry of the detestable Philip II.

The death of that patriot hero William prince of Orange by the hand of a fanatical assassin, had plunged his country in distress and dismay; and the States-general had again made an earnest tender of their sovereignty to Elizabeth. She once more declined it, from the same motives of caution and anxiety to avoid the imputation of ambitious encroachment on the rights of neighbouring princes which had formerly determined her. But more than ever aware how closely her own safety and welfare were connected with the successful resist-

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ance of these provinces, she now consented to send over an army to their succour, and to grant them supplies of money; in consideration of which several cautionary towns were put into her hands. Of these Flushing was one; and Elizabeth gratified at once the protestant zeal of Philip Sydney and his aspirations after military glory, by appointing him its governor. It was in November 1585 that he took possession of his charge.

Meanwhile the earl of Leicester, whose haughty and grasping spirit led him to covet distinction and authority in every walk, was eagerly soliciting the supreme command of this important armament; and in spite of the general mediocrity of his talents, and his very slight experience in the art of war, his partial mistress had the weakness to indulge him in this unreasonable and ill-advised pretension. The title of general of the queen's auxiliaries in Holland was conferred upon him, and with it a command over the whole English navy paramount to that of the lord high admiral himself.

He landed at Flushing; and was received first by its governor and afterwards by the states of Holland and Zealand with the highest honors and with the most magnificent festivities which it was in their power to exhibit. A splendid band of youthful nobility followed in his train: — the foremost of them all was his stepson Robert earl of Essex, now in his 19th year; who had already made his appearance at court, and experienced from her majesty a reception which clearly prognosticated, to such as were conversant in the ways

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of the court, the height of favor to which he was predestined.

It was highly characteristic of the jealous haughtiness of Elizabeth's temper, that the extraordinary honors lavished by the States upon Leicester should have instantly awakened her utmost indignation. She regarded them as too high for any subject; even for him who enjoyed the first place in her royal favour, whom she had invested with an unexampled amplitude of authority, and who represented herself in the council of the States-general. She expressed her anger in a tone which made both Leicester and the Belgians tremble; and the explanations and humble submissions of both parties were found scarcely sufficient to appease her. At the same time, the incapacity and misconduct of Leicester as a commander were daily becoming more conspicuous and offensive in the eyes of the Dutch authorities; and the most serious evils would immediately have ensued, but for the prudence, the magnanimity, the conciliating behaviour and the strenuous exertions, by which his admirable nephew laboured unceasingly to remedy his vices, and cover his deficiencies.

The brilliant valor of the English troops, and particularly of the young nobility and gentry who led them on, was conspicuous in every encounter; but the want of a chief able to cope with that accomplished general the prince of Parma, precluded them from effecting any important object. Philip Sidney distinguished himself by a well-conducted surprise of the town of Axel; and received in reward, among a number of others, the honor of

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knighthood from the hands of his uncle. Afterwards, having made an attack with the horse under his command on a reinforcement which the enemy was attempting to throw into Zutphen, a hot action ensued; in which, though the advantage remained with the English, it was dearly purchased by the blood of their gallant leader, who received a shot above the knee, which, after sixteen days of acute suffering, brought his valuable life to its termination.

Thus perished at the early age of thirty-two sir Philip Sidney; the pride and pattern of his time, the theme of song, the favourite of English story. The beautiful anecdote of his resigning to the dying soldier the draught of water with which he was about to quench his thirst as he rode faint and bleeding from the fatal field, is told to every child, and inspires a love and reverence for his name which never ceases to cling about the hearts of his countrymen. He is regarded as the most perfect example which English history affords of the *preux Chevalier;* and is named in parallel with the spotless and fearless Bayard, the glory of Frenchmen, whom he excelled in all the accomplishments of peace, as much as the other exceeded him in the number and splendour of his military achievements.

The demonstrations of grief for his loss and the honors paid to his memory, went far beyond all former example; and appeared to exceed what belongs to a private citizen. The court went into mourning for him; and his remains received a magnificent funeral in St. Paul's, the United Provinces

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having in vain requested permission to inter him at their own expense, with the promise that he should have as fair a tomb as any prince in Christendom. Elizabeth always remembered him with affection and regret. Cambridge and Oxford published three volumes of "*Lachrymæ*" on the melancholy event. Spenser in verse and Camden in prose commemorated and deplored their friend and patron. A crowd of humbler contemporaries pressed forward to offer their mite of panegyric and lamentation; and it would be endless to enumerate the poets and other writers of later times, who have celebrated in various forms the name of Sidney. Foreigners of the highest distinction claimed a share in the general sentiment. Du Plessis Mornay condoled with Walsingham on the loss of his incomparable son-in-law in terms of the deepest sorrow. Count Hohenlo passionately bewailed his friend and fellow-soldier, to whose representations and intercession he had sacrificed his just indignation against the proceedings of Leicester. Even the hard heart of Philip II. was touched by the untimely fate of his godson, though slain in bearing arms against him.

We are told that on the next tilt-day after the last wife of the earl of Leicester had borne him a son, Sidney appeared with a shield on which was the word "*Speravi*," dashed through. This anecdote, — if indeed the allusion of the motto be rightly explained, which it is difficult to believe, — would serve to show how publicly he had been regarded, both by himself and others, as the heir of his all-powerful uncle. The death of the child,

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on which occasion adulatory verses were produced by the university of Cambridge, restored Sidney, the year before his death, to this brilliant expectancy; and it cannot reasonably be doubted, that the academic honors paid to his memory were, like the court-mourning, a homage to the power of the living rather than to the virtues of the dead. But though he should be judged to have owed to his connexion with a royal favourite much of his contemporary celebrity; and even in some measure his enduring fame; no candid estimator will suffer himself, under an idea of correcting the former partiality of fortune, to be hurried into the gross injustice of denying to this accomplished character a just title to the esteem and admiration of posterity. On the contrary, it will be considered, that the very circumstances which rendered him so early conspicuous, would also expose him to the assaults of malice and envy; and that if his spirit had not been in reality noble and his conduct irreproachable, it would have exceeded all the power of Leicester to shield the reputation of his nephew against attacks similar to those from which his own had suffered irretrievably.

Philip Sidney was educated, by the cares of a wise and excellent father, in the purest and most elevated moral principles, and in the best learning of the age. A letter of advice which this exemplary parent addressed to him at the age of twelve, fully exemplifies both the laudable solicitude of sir Henry respecting his future character, and the soundness of his views and maxims: in the behaviour of his son, on advancing to manhood, he saw

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his hopes exceeded and his prayers fulfilled. Nothing could be more correct than his conduct, more laudable than his pursuits, while on his travels; young as he was, he merited the friendship of Hubert Languet. He also gained just and high reputation for the manner in which he acquitted himself in an embassy to the protestant princes of Germany; — though somewhat of the parade and family pride of a Dudley was apparent in the port which he thought it necessary to assume on the occasion. After his return he commenced the life of a courtier; and that indiscriminate thirst for glory, which was in some measure the foible of his character, led him into an ostentatious profusion, which, by involving his affairs, rendered it necessary for him to solicit the pecuniary favors of her majesty; and to earn them by some acts of adulation unworthy of his spirit: for all these, however, he made large amends by his noble letter against the French marriage. He afterwards undertook, with a zeal and ability highly honorable to his heart and his head, the defence of his father, accused, but finally acquitted, of some stretches of power as lord-deputy of Ireland. This business involved him in disputes with the earl of Ormond, his father's enemy; who seems to have generously overlooked provocations which might have led to more serious consequences, in consideration of the filial feelings of his youthful adversary.

These indications of a bold and forward spirit appear however to have somewhat injured him in the mind of her majesty; his advancement by no means kept pace either with his wishes or his

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wants; and a subsequent quarrel already alluded to with the earl of Oxford; — in which he refused to make the concessions required by the queen; — sent him in disgust from court. Retiring to Wilton, the seat of his brother-in-law the earl of Pembroke, he composed the Arcadia. This work he never revised or completed; it was published after his death, probably contrary to his orders; and it is of a kind long since obsolete. Under all these disadvantages, however, though faulty in plan and, as a whole, tedious, this romance has been found to exhibit extensive learning, a poetical cast of imagination, nice discrimination of character; and, what is far more, a fervor of eloquence in the cause of virtue, a heroism of sentiment and purity of thought, which stamp it for the offspring of a noble mind; which evince that the workman was superior to his work.

But the world re-absorbed him; and, baffled at court, he meditated, in correspondence with one of his favorite mottoes, — "*Aut viam inveniam aut faciam*," — to join one of the almost piratical expeditions of Drake against the Spanish settlements. Perhaps he might then be diverted from his design by the strong and kind warning of his true friend Languet; "to beware lest the thirst of lucre should creep into a mind which had hitherto admitted nothing but the love of truth, and an anxiety to deserve well of all men." After the death of this monitor, however, he engaged in a second scheme of this very questionable nature; and was only prevented from embarking, by the arrival of the queen's peremptory orders for his

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return to court, and that of Fulke Greville who accompanied him.

It would certainly be difficult to defend in point of dignity and consistency his conspicuous appearance, at the triumph held in honor of the French embassy; or his attendance upon the duke of Anjou on his return to the Netherlands.

The story of his nomination to the throne of Poland deserves little regard; it is certain that such an elevation was never within his possible attainment. His reputation on the continent was however extremely high; don John of Austria himself esteemed him; the great prince of Orange corresponded with him as a friend; and Du Plessis Mornay solicited his good offices on behalf of the French protestants. Unqualified praise is due to his conduct in Holland; to the valor of a knight-errant he added the best virtues of a commander and counsellor. Leicester himself apprehended that it would scarcely be possible for him to sustain his high post without the countenance and assistance of his beloved nephew; and the event showed that he was right.

His death was worthy of the best parts of his life; he showed himself to the last devout, courageous, and serene. His wife, the beautiful daughter of Walsingham, his brother Robert, to whom he had performed the part rather of an anxious and indulgent parent than of a brother, and many sorrowing friends, surrounded his bed. *Their* grief was beyond a doubt sincere and poignant; as well as that of the many men of letters and of worth

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who gloried in his friendship and flourished by his bountiful patronage.

On the whole, though justice claims the admission that the character of Sidney was not free from the faults most incident to his age and station, and that neither as a writer, a scholar, a soldier, or a statesman; — in all which characters during the course of his short life he appeared, and appeared with distinction; — is he yet entitled to the highest rank; it may however be firmly maintained that, as a man, an accomplished and high-souled man, he had among his contemporary countrymen neither equal nor competitor. Such was the verdict in his own times not of flatterers only, or friends, but of England, of Europe; such is the title of merit under which the historian may enroll him, with confidence and complacency, among the illustrious few whose names and example still serve to kindle in the bosom of youth the animating glow of virtuous emulation.[a]

Leicester never appears in an amiable light except in connexion with his nephew; for whom his affection was not only sincere but ardent. A few extracts from a letter written by him to sir Thomas Heneage, captain of the queen's guards, giving an account of the action in which Sidney received his mortal wound, will illustrate this remark; while it records the gallant exploits of several of his companions in arms.

After relating that sir Philip had gone out with a party to intercept a convoy of the enemy's, he

[a] *Zouch's Life of Sir Philip Sidney.*

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adds; "Many of our horses were hurt and killed, among which was my nephew's own. He went and changed to another, and would needs to the charge again; and once passed those musqueteers, where he received a sore wound upon his thigh, three fingers above his knee, the bone broken quite in pieces; but for which chance, God did send such a day as I think was never many years seen, so few against so many." The earl then enumerates the other commanders and distinguished persons engaged in the action. Colonel Norris, the earl of Essex, sir Thomas Perrot; "and my unfortunate Philip, with sir William Russell, and divers gentlemen; and not one hurt but only my nephew. They killed four of their enemy's chief leaders and carried the valiant count Hannibal Gonzaga away with them upon a horse; also took captain George Cressier, the principal soldier of the camp and captain of all the Albanese. My lord Willoughby overthrew him at the first encounter, man and horse. The gentleman did acknowledge it himself, There is not a properer gentleman in the world towards than this lord Willoughby is; but I can hardly praise one more than another, they all did so well; yet every one had his horse killed or hurt. And it was thought very strange that sir William Stanley with three hundred of his men should pass, in spite of so many musquets, such troops of horse three several times, making them remove their ground; and to return with no more loss than he did. Albeit, I must say it, it was too much loss for me; for this young man, he was my greatest comfort, next her

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majesty, of all the world; and if I could buy his life with all I have, to my shirt I would give it.

How God will dispose of him I know not; but fear I must needs, greatly, the worst; the blow in so dangerous a place and so great; yet did I never hear of any man that did abide the dressing the setting of his bones better than he did; and he was carried afterwards in my barge to Arnheim; and I hear this day, he is still of good heart and comforteth all about him as much as may be. God of his mercy grant me his life! which I cannot but doubt of greatly. I was abroad that time in the field giving some order to supply that business, which did endure almost two hours in continual fight; and meeting Philip coming upon his horseback, not a little to my grief. But I would you had stood by to hear his most loyal speeches to her majesty; his constant mind to the cause; his loving care over me, and his most resolute determination for death; not one jot appalled for his blow, which is the most grievous I ever saw with such a bullet; riding so a long mile and a half upon his horse, ere he came to the camp; not ceasing to speak still of her majesty, being glad if his hurt and death might any way honor her majesty; for hers he was whilst he lived, and God's he was sure to be if he died. Prayed all men to think the cause was as well her majesty's as the country's; and not to be discouraged; 'for you have seen such success as may encourage us all; and this my hurt is the ordinance of God by the hap of the war.' Well, I pray God, if it be his

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will, save me his life; even as well for her majesty's service sake, as for mine own comfort."[a]

Sir Henry Sidney was spared the anguish of following such a son to the grave; having himself quitted the scene a few months before. It was in 1578 that he received orders to resign the government of Ireland, having become obnoxious to the gentlemen of the English pale by his rigor in levying certain assessments for the maintenance of troops and the expenses of his own household, which they affirmed to be illegally imposed. There is every reason to believe that their complaint was well founded; but Elizabeth, refusing as usual to allow her prerogative to be touched, imprisoned several Irish lawyers who came to England to appeal against the tax; and sir Henry being able to prove that he had royal warrant for what he had done, was finally exonerated by the council from all the charges which had been preferred against him; and retained to the last his office of lord president of Wales.

The sound judgment of sir Henry Sidney taught him, that his near connexion with the earl of Leicester had its dangers as well as its advantages; and observing the turn for show and expense with which it served to inspire the younger members of his family, he would frequently enjoin them "to consider more whose sons than whose nephews they were." In fact, he was not able to lay up fortunes for them; — the offices he held were

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[a] *Sidney Papers.*

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higher in dignity than emolument; his spirit was noble and munificent; and the following among other anecdotes may serve to show that he himself was not averse to a certain degree of parade; at least on particular occasions. The queen, standing once at a window of her palace at Hampton-court, saw a gentleman approach escorted by two hundred attendants on horseback; and turning to her courtiers, she asked with some surprise, who this might be? But on being informed that it was sir Henry Sidney, her lord-deputy of Ireland and president of Wales, she answered; "And he may well do it, for he has two of the best offices in my kingdom."

The following letter addressed to sir Henry as lord-president of Wales, discloses an additional trait of his character, which cannot fail to recommend him still more to the esteem of a humane and enlightened age; — his reluctance to lend his concurrence to the measures of religious persecution, which the queen and her bishops now urged upon all persons in authority as their incumbent duty.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir H. Sidney, Lord-president of Wales.

"My very good lord;

"My lords of late calling here to remembrance the commission that was more than a year ago given out to your lordship and certain others for the reformation of the recusants and obstinate persons in

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religion, within Wales and the marches thereof, marvelled very much that in all this time they have heard of nothing done by you and the rest; and truly, my lord, the necessity of this time requiring so greatly to have these kind of men diligently and sharply proceeded against, there will here a very hard construction be made, I fear me, of you, to retain with you the said commission so long, doing no good therein. Of late now I received your lordship's letter touching such persons as you think meet to have the custody and oversight of Montgomery Castle, by which it appeareth you have begun, in your present journeys in Wales, to do somewhat in causes of religion; but having a special commission for that purpose, in which are named special and very apt persons to join with you in those matters, it will be thought strange to my lords to hear of your proceeding in those causes without their assistance; and therefore, to the end their lordships should conceive no otherwise than well of your dealing without them, I have forborne to acquaint them with our late letter, wishing your lordship, for the better handling and success of those matters in religion, you called unto you the bishop of Worcester, Mr. Philips, and certain others specially named in the commission. They will, I am sure, be glad to wait on you in so good a service, and your proceeding together with them in these matters will be better allowed of here.".....

"P. S. Your lordship had need to walk warily, for your doings are narrowly observed, and her majesty is apt to give ear to any that shall ill you.

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Great hold is taken by your enemies for neglecting the execution of this commission.

"Oatlands, August 9th, 1580." [a]

Leicester, soon after the death of his nephew, placed his army in winter-quarters, having effected no one object of importance. The States remonstrated with him in strong terms on the various and grievous abuses of his administration; he answered them in the tone of graciousness and conciliation, which it suited his purpose to assume; and publicly surrendering up to them the whole apparent authority of the provinces, whilst by a secret act of restriction he in fact retained for himself full command over all the governors of towns and provinces, he set sail for England.

Elizabeth received her favorite with her usual complacency, either because his abject submissions had in reality succeeded in banishing from her mind all resentment of his conduct in Holland, or because she required the support of his long tried counsels under the awful responsibilities of that impending conflict with the whole collected force of the Spanish monarchy for which she found herself summoned to prepare. The king of Denmark, astonished to behold a princess of Elizabeth's well known caution involving herself with seeming indifference in peril so great and so apparent, exclaimed that she had now taken the diadem from

[a] *Sidney Papers*, vol. i. p. 276.

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her brow to place it on the doubtful cast of war; and trembling for the fate of his friend and ally, he dispatched an ambassador in haste to offer her his mediation for the adjustment of all differences arising out of the revolt of the Netherlands. But Elizabeth firmly, though with thanks, declined any overtures towards a reconciliation with a sovereign whom she now recognised as her implacable and determined foe.

She was far, however, from despising the danger which she braved; and with a prudence and diligence equal to her fortitude, she began to assemble and put in action all her means both of defence and annoyance. She linked herself still more closely, by benefits and promises, with the prince of Condé, chief of the Hugonots now in arms against the League, or Catholic association, formed in France under the auspices of the king of Spain. With the king of Scots likewise she entered into an intimate alliance; and she had previously secured the friendship of all the protestant princes of Germany and of the northern powers of Europe. She now openly avowed the enterprises of Drake, which she had hitherto only encouraged underhand, or on certain pretexts of retaliation; and she sent him with a fleet of twenty-one ships, carrying above eleven thousand soldiers, to make war upon the Spanish settlements in the West Indies.

But if all these measures seemed likely to afford her kingdom sufficient means of protection against the attacks of a foreign enemy, it was difficult for her to regard her own person as equally well secured against the dark conspiracies of her

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catholic subjects; which were instigated by the sanguinary maxims of the Romish see, fostered by the atrocious activity of the emissaries of Philip, and sanctioned by the authority of the queen of Scots; to whom homage was rendered by her party as rightful sovereign of the British isles.

During the festival of Easter 1586, some English priests of the seminary at Rheims had encouraged a fanatical soldier named Savage to vow the death of the queen. About the same time Ballard, also a priest of this seminary, was concerting in France, with Mendoça and the fugitive lord Paget, the means of procuring an invasion of the country during the absence of its best troops in Flanders. Repairing to England, Ballard communicated the two schemes to Anthony Babington, a gentleman who had been gained over on a visit to France by the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador there; and whose vehement attachment to her cause had rendered him capable of any enterprise, however criminal or desperate, for her deliverance. Babington entered into both plots with eagerness; but he suggested, that so essential a part of the action as the assassination of the queen, ought not to be intrusted to a single adventurer; and he lost no time in associating five others in the vow of Savage; himself undertaking the part of setting free the captive Mary. With her he had previously been in correspondence, having frequently undertaken the charge of transmitting to her by secret channels her letters from France; and he immediately imparted to her this new design for her restoration to liberty and

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advancement to the English throne. There is full evidence that Mary approved it in all its parts; that in several successive letters she gave Babington counsels or directions relative to its execution; and that she promised to the perpetrators of the murder of Elizabeth every reward which it should hereafter be in her power to bestow.

All this time the vigilant eye of Walsingham was secretly fixed on the unsuspecting conspirators. He held a thread which vibrated to their every motion; and he was patiently awaiting the moment of their complete entanglement to spring forth and seize his victims.

To the queen, and to her only, he communicated the daily intelligence which he received from a spy who had introduced himself into all their secrets; and Elizabeth had the firmness to precipitate nothing, though a picture was actually shown her, in which the six assassins had absurdly caused themselves to be represented, with a motto underneath intimating their common design. These dreadful visages remained however so perfectly impressed on her memory, that she immediately recognised one of the conspirators who had approached very near her person as she was one day walking in her garden. She had the intrepidity to fix a look upon him which daunted him; and afterwards, turning to her captain of the guards, she remarked that she was indeed well guarded; not having a single armed man about her at the time.

At length Walsingham judged it time to interpose and rescue his sovereign from her perilous

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situation. Ballard was first seized, and soon after Babington and his associates. All, overcome by terror, or allured by vain hopes, severally and voluntarily confessed their guilt and accused their accomplices. The nation was justly exasperated against the partakers in a plot which comprised foreign invasion, domestic insurrection, the assassination of a beloved sovereign, the elevation of her dreaded and hated rival to the throne, and the restoration of popery. The traitors suffered, notwithstanding the interest which the extreme youth and good moral characters of most or all of them were formed to inspire, amid the execrations of the protestant spectators. But what was to be the fate of that "pretender to the crown," on whose behalf and with whose privity this foul conspiracy had been entered into; and who was liable to condign punishment by the late statute, passed with a view to this very case?

This was now the important question which awaited the decision of Elizabeth, and divided the judgements of her most confidential counsellors. Some advised that the royal captive should be spared the ignominy of any public proceeding; but that her attendants should be removed and her custody rendered so severe as to preclude all possibility of her renewing her pestilent intrigues. Leicester, in conformity with the baseness and atrocity of his character, is related to have suggested the employment of treachery against the life of a prisoner whom it appeared equally dangerous to spare or to punish, and to have sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of taking

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her off by poison. But that minister rejected the proposal with abhorrence; and concurred with the majority of the council in urging the queen to bring her without fear or scruple to an open trial. In favour of this measure Elizabeth at length decided; and steps were taken accordingly.

By means of well concerted precautions, Mary had been kept in total ignorance of the apprehension of the conspirators, till their confessions had been made and their fates decided:— a gentleman was then sent to her from the court to announce that all was discovered.

It was just as she had mounted her horse to take her usual exercise with her keepers, that this alarming message was delivered to her; and she was compelled, however reluctantly, to proceed on her excursion, instead of returning, as she desired, to her chamber. Meantime all her papers were seized, sealed up, and conveyed to the queen. Amongst them were letters from a large proportion of the nobility and other leading characters of the English court, filled with expressions of attachment to the person of the queen of Scots and sympathy in her misfortunes, not unmixed, in all probability, with severe reflections on the conduct of her rival and oppressor. All these Elizabeth perused, and no doubt stored up in her memory; but her good sense and prudence supplied on this occasion the place of magnanimity; and well knowing that the conscious fears of the writers would be ample security for their future conduct, she buried in lasting silence and apparent oblivion

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all the discoveries which had reached her through this channel.

The principal domestics of Mary were now apprehended, and committed to different keepers; and Nau and Curl, her two secretaries, were sent prisoners to London. She herself was immediately removed from Tutbury, and conveyed with a great attendance of the neighbouring gentry, and resting at several noblemen's houses by the way, to the strong castle of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire. This part of the business was safely and prudently conducted by sir Amias Paulet; and he received for his encouragement and reward the following characteristic letter, subscribed by the hand of her majesty, and surely of her own inditing.

"To my faithful Amias.

"Amias, my most careful servant, God reward thee treble fold in the double for thy most troublesome charge, so well discharged! If you knew, my Amias, how kindly, besides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labors and faithful actions; your wise orders and safe conduct performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge; it would ease your troubles and rejoice your heart. And (which I charge you to carry this most just thought) that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgement the value I prize you at: And suppose no treasure to countervail such a faith: And condemn myself in that fault which I have committed, if I reward not such deserts. Yea, let me lack when I have most need, if I acknow-

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ledge not such a merit with a reward '*non omnibus datum.*'

"But let your wicked mistress know, how with hearty sorrow her vile deserts compel those orders; and bid her from me ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealing toward the saver of her life many years, to the intolerable peril of her own. And yet, not content with so many forgivenesses, must fall again so horribly, far passing a woman, much more a princess. Instead of excusing thereof, not one can serve, it being so plainly confessed by the authors of my guiltless death.

"Let repentance take place; and let not the fiend possess so as her best part be lost. Which I pray, with hands lifted up to Him that may both save and spill. With my loving adieu and prayer for thy long life,

"Your assured and loving sovereign in heart,
by good desert induced,
"ELIZ. R."

Soon after the arrival of Mary at Fotheringay, Elizabeth, according to the provisions of the late act, issued out a commission to forty noblemen and privy counsellors, empowering them to try and pass sentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of king James V. and late queen of Scots; — for it was thus that she was designated, with a view of intimating to her that she was no longer to be regarded as possessing the rights of a sovereign princess. Thirty-six of the commissioners repaired immediately to Fotheringay, where they arrived on October 9th, 1586, and cited Mary to appear

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before them. This summons she refused to obey, on the double ground, that, as an absolute princess, she was free from all human jurisdiction, since kings only could be her peers; and that having been detained in England as a prisoner, she had not enjoyed the protection of the laws; and consequently ought not in equity to be regarded as amenable to their sentence. Whatever may be thought of these objections, the commissioners refused to admit them, and declared that they would proceed to judge her by default. This menace she at first disregarded; but soon after, overcome by the artful representations of Hatton on the inferences which must inevitably be drawn from her refusal to justify herself for the satisfaction of a princess who had declared that she desired nothing so much as the establishment of her innocence, she changed her mind and consented to plead. None of her papers were restored; no counsel was assigned her; and her request that her two secretaries, whose evidence was principally relied on by the prosecutors, might be confronted with her, was denied. But these were hardships inflicted by law on all prisoners accused of high treason; and it does not appear that, with respect to its forms and modes of proceeding, Mary had cause to complain that her trial was other than a regular and legal one.

On her first appearance she renewed her protestation against the competence of the tribunal. Bromley, the lord-chancellor, answered her, showing the jurisdiction of the English law over all persons within the country; and the commissioners

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ordered both the objection and the reply to be registered, as if to save the point of law; but it does not appear that it was ever referred for decision to any other authority.

Intercepted letters, authenticated by the testimony of her secretaries, formed the chief evidence against Mary. From these the crown lawyers showed, and she did not attempt to deny, that she had suffered her correspondents to address her as queen of England; that she had endeavoured by means of English fugitives to incite the Spaniards to invade the country; and that she had been negotiating at Rome the terms of a transfer of all her claims, present and future, to the king of Spain; disinheriting by this unnatural act her own schismatical son. The further charge of having concurred in the late plot for the assassination of Elizabeth, she strongly denied and attempted to disprove; but it stood on equally good evidence with all the rest; and in spite of some suggestions of which her modern partisans have endeavoured to give her the benefit, there appears no solid foundation on which an impartial enquirer can rest any doubt of the fact.

The deportment of Mary on this trying emergency exhibited somewhat of the dignity, but more of the spirit and adroitness, for which she has been famed. She justified her negotiations, or intrigues with foreign princes, on the ground of her inalienable right to employ all the means within her power for the recovery of that liberty of which she had been cruelly and unjustly deprived. With great effrontery she persisted in denying that she had

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ever entertained with Babington any correspondence whatever; and she urged that his pretending to receive, or having in fact received, letters written in her cypher, was no conclusive proof against her; since it was the same which she used in her French correspondence; and might have fallen into other hands. But finding herself hard pressed by evidence on this part of the subject, she afterwards hazarded a rash attempt to fix on Walsingham the imputation of having suborned witnesses and forged letters for her destruction. The aged minister, greatly moved by this attack upon his character, immediately rose and asserted his innocence in a manner so solemn, and with such circumstantial corroboration, as compelled her to retract the accusation with an apology.

On some mention of the earl of Arundel and lord William Howard his brother, which occurred in the intercepted letters, she sighed, and exclaimed with a feeling which did her honor, "Alas, what has not the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!"

On the whole, her presence of mind was remarkable; though the quick sensibilities of her nature could not be withheld from breaking out at times, either in vehement sallies of anger or long fits of weeping; as the sense of past and present injuries, or of her forlorn and afflicted state, and the perils and sufferings which still menaced her, rose by turns upon her agitated and affrighted mind.

The commissioners, after a full hearing of the cause, quitted Fotheringay; and meeting again in the Star-chamber, summoned before them the two secretaries, who voluntarily confirmed on oath the

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whole of their former depositions; after this, they proceeded to an unanimous sentence of death against Mary, which was immediately transmitted to the queen for her approbation. On the same day a declaration was published on the part of the commissioners and judges, importing, that the sentence did in no manner derogate from the titles and honours of the king of Scots.

Most of the subsequent steps taken by Elizabeth in this unhappy business are marked with the features of that intense selfishness which, scrupling nothing for the attainment of its own mean objects, seldom fails by exaggerated efforts and overstrained manœuvres to expose itself to detection and merited contempt.

Never had she enjoyed a higher degree of popularity than at this juncture; the late discoveries had opened to view a series of popish machinations which had fully justified, in the eyes of an alarmed and irritated people, even those previous measures of severity on the part of her government which had most contributed to provoke these attempts.

The queen was more than ever the heroine of the protestant party; and the image of those imminent and hourly perils to which her zeal in the good cause had exposed her, inflamed to enthusiasm the sentiment of loyalty. On occasion of the detection of Babington's plot, the whole people gave themselves up to rejoicings. Sixty bonfires, says the chronicler, were kindled between Ludgate and Charing-Cross, and tables were set out in the open streets at which happy neighbours feasted together. The condemnation of the queen of Scots produced

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similar demonstrations. After her sentence had been ratified by both houses of parliament, it was thought expedient, probably by way of feeling the pulse of the people, that solemn proclamation of it should be made in London by the lord-mayor and city officers, and by the magistrates of the county in Westminster. The multitude, untouched by the long misfortunes of an unhappy princess born of the blood-royal of England and heiress to its throne; — insensible too of every thing arbitrary, unprecedented, or unjust, in the treatment to which she had been subjected; — received the notification of her doom with expressions of triumph and exultation truly shocking. Bonfires were lighted, church bells were rung; and every street and lane throughout the city resounded with psalms of thanksgiving.[a]

It is manifest, therefore, that no deference for the opinions or feelings of her subjects compelled Elizabeth to hesitate or to dissemble in this matter.

Had she permitted the execution of the sentence simply and without delay, all orders of men attached to the protestant establishment would have regarded it as an act fully justified by state-expediency and the law of self-defence; and though misgivings might have arisen in the minds of some on cooler reflection, when alarm had subsided and the bitterness of satiated revenge had begun to make itself felt; — these "compunctious visitings" could have led to no consequences capable of alarming her. It must have been felt as highly

[a] *Holinshed's Castrations.*

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inequitable to reproach the queen, when all was past and irrevocable, for the consent which she had afforded to a deed sanctioned by law, ratified by the legislature, and applauded by the people; and from which both church and state had reaped the fruits of security and peace. Foreign princes also would have respected the vigour of this proceeding: they would not have been displeased to see themselves spared by a decisive act the pain of making disregarded representations on such a subject; and a secret consciousness that few of their number would have scrupled under all the circumstances to take like vengeance on a deadly foe and rival, might further have contributed to reconcile them to the fact. Even as it was, pope Sixtus V. could scarcely restrain his expressions of admiration at so strong a measure as the final execution of the sentence. His holiness had indeed a strange passion for capital punishments; and he is said to have envied the queen of England the glorious satisfaction of cutting off a royal head:— a sentiment not much more extraordinary from such a personage, than the ardent desire which he is reported to have expressed, that it were possible for him to have a son by this heretic princess; because the offspring of such parents could not fail, he said, to make himself king of the world.

But it was the weakness of Elizabeth to imagine, that an extraordinary parade of reluctance, and the interposition of some affected delays, would change in public opinion the whole character of the deed which she contemplated; and preserve to

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her the reputation of feminine mildness and sensibility, without the sacrifice of that great revenge on which she was secretly bent. The world, however, when it has no interest in deceiving itself, is too wise to accept of words instead of deeds, or in opposition to them; and the sole result of her artifices was to aggravate in the eyes of all mankind the criminality of the act, by giving it rather the air of a treacherous and cold-blooded murder, than of solemn execution done upon a formidable culprit by the sentence of offended laws. The parliament which Elizabeth had summoned to partake the odium of Mary's death, met four days after the judges had pronounced her doom, and was opened by commission. An unanimous ratification of the sentence by both houses was immediately carried; followed by an earnest address to her majesty for its publication and execution; to which she returned a long and labored answer.

She began with the expression of her fervent gratitude to Providence for the affections of her people; adding protestations of her love towards them, and of her perfect willingness to have suffered her own life still to remain exposed as a mark to the aim of enemies and traitors, had she not perceived how intimately the safety and well-being of the nation was connected with her own. With regard to the queen of Scots, she said, so severe had been the grief which she had sustained from her recent conduct, that the fear of renewing this sentiment had been the cause, and the sole cause, of her withholding her personal appearance

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at the opening of that assembly; where she knew that the subject must of necessity become matter of discussion; and not, as had been suggested, the apprehension of any violence to be attempted against her person; — yet she might mention, that she had actually seen a bond by which the subscribers bound themselves to procure her death within a month.

So far was she from indulging any ill-will against one of the same sex, the same rank, the same race as herself; — in fact her nearest kinswoman; — that after having received full information of certain of her machinations, she had secretly written with her own hand to the queen of Scots, promising that, on a simple confession of her guilt in a private letter to herself, all should be buried in oblivion. She doubted not that the ancient laws of the land would have been sufficient to reach the guilt of her who had been the great artificer of the recent treasons; and she had consented to the passing of the late statute, not for the purpose of ensnaring her, but rather to give her warning of the danger in which she stood. Her lawyers, from their strict attachment to ancient forms, would have brought this princess to trial within the county of Stafford; have compelled her to hold up her hand at the bar; and have caused twelve jurymen to pass judgement upon her. But to her it had appeared more suitable to the dignity of the prisoner and the importance of the cause to refer the examination to the judges, nobles, and counsellors of the realm; — happy if even thus she could escape that ready censure to which the conspicuous station of sovereigns on all occasions exposed them.

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The statute, by requiring her to pronounce judgement upon her kinswoman, had involved her in anxiety and difficulties. Amid all her perils, however, she must remember with gratitude and affection the voluntary association into which her subjects had entered for her defence. It was never her practice to decide hastily on any matter; in a case so rare and important some interval of deliberation must be allowed her; and she would pray Heaven to enlighten her mind and guide it to the decision most beneficial to the church, the state, and the people.

Twelve days after the delivery of this speech, her majesty sent a message to both houses entreating that her parliament would carefully reconsider the matter; and endeavour to hit upon some device by which the life of the queen of Scots might be rendered consistent with her own safety and that of the country. Her faithful parliament, however, soon after acquainted her, that with their utmost diligence they had found it impracticable to form any satisfactory plan of the kind she desired; and the speakers of the two houses ended a long representation of the mischiefs to be expected from any arrangement by which Mary would be suffered to continue in life, with a most earnest and humble petition, that her majesty would not longer deny to the united wishes and entreaties of all England, what it would be iniquitous to refuse to the meanest individual; the execution of justice.

Elizabeth, after pronouncing a second long harangue designed to display her own clemency, to upbraid the malice of her libellers, and to refute

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the suspicion, which her conscience no doubt helped her to anticipate, that all this irresolution was but feigned; and that the decisions of the two houses were influenced by a secret acquaintance with her wishes; — again dismissed their petitions without any positive answer. Soon after, however, she permitted herself to authorize the proclamation of the sentence; and sent lord Buckhurst and Beal clerk of the council, to announce it to Mary herself.

During the whole of this time, the kings of France and of Scotland were interceding by their ambassadors for the pardon of the illustrious prisoner. How the representations of Henry III. were received, we do not find minutely recorded; but Elizabeth knew that they might be safely disregarded: that monarch was himself too much a sufferer by the arrogance and ambition of the house of Guise, to be very strenuous in his friendship towards any one so nearly connected with it; and it is even said that, while a sense of decorum extorted from him in public some energetic expressions of the interest taken by him in the fate of a sister-in-law and queen-dowager of France, a sentiment of regard for Elizabeth, his friend and ally, prompted him to counsel her, through a secret agent, to execute the sentence with the least possible delay. Of the treatment experienced by the master of Gray, the envoy of James, we derive some particulars from an original memorial drawn up by himself.

He appears to have reached Ware on December 24th, whence he sent to desire Keith and Douglas,

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the resident Scotch ambassadors, to announce to the queen his approach; and she voluntarily promised that the life of Mary should be spared till his proposals were heard. His reception in London was somewhat ungracious; — no one was sent to welcome or convoy him, and it was ten days before he and sir Robert Melvil his coadjutor were admitted to an audience. Elizabeth's first address to them was, "A thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes; I would now see your master's offers." Gray desired first to be assured that the cause for which those offers were made was "still extant;" that is, that the life of Mary was still safe, and should be so till their mission had been heard. She answered, "I think it be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour." They then brought forward certain proposals, not here recited, which she rejected with contempt; and calling in Leicester, the lord-admiral, and Hatton, "very despitefully" repeated them in hearing of them all. Gray then propounded his last offer: — that the queen of Scots should resign all her claims upon the English succession to her son, by which means the hopes of the papists would, as he said, be cut off. The terms in which this overture was made Elizabeth affected not to understand; Leicester explained their meaning to be, that the king of Scots should be put in his mother's place. "Is it so?" the queen answered: "then I put myself in a worse case than before: — By God's passion, that were to cut my own throat; and for a duchy or an earldom to yourself, you, or such as you, would cause some of your

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desperate knaves to kill me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place!" — Gray answered, "He craves nothing of your majesty, but only of his mother."—"That," said Leicester, "were to make him *party* (rival or adversary) to the queen my mistress." — "He will be far more party," replied Gray, "if he be in her place through her death." — Her majesty exclaimed, that she should not have a worse in his mother's place; and added; "Tell your king what good I have done for him in holding the crown on his head since he was born, and that I *mind* (intend) to keep the league that now stands between us, and if he break it, it shall be a double fault." With this speech she would have left them; but they persisted in arguing the matter further, though in vain. Gray then requested that Mary's life might be spared for fifteen days; the queen refused: sir Robert Melvil begged for only eight days; she said not for an hour; and so quitted them.

After this, the Scotch ambassadors assumed a tone of menace: but the perfidious Gray secretly fortified Elizabeth's resolution with the proverb, "The dead cannot bite;" and undertook soon to pacify, in any event, the anger of his master, whose favorite he at this time was.

No sooner had Elizabeth silenced with this show of inflexibility all the pleadings or menaces by which others had attempted to divert her from her fatal aim, than she began, as in the affair of the French marriage, to feel her own resolution waver. It appears unquestionable, that to affected delays a real hesitation succeeded. When her pride was no

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longer irritated by opposition, she had leisure to survey the meditated deed in every light; and as it rose upon her view in all its deformity, anxious fears for her own reputation, yet unstained by any crime; and perhaps genuine scruples of conscience, forcibly assailed her resolution. But her ministers, deeply sensible that both she and they had already gone too far to recede with credit or with safety, encountered her growing reluctance with a proportional increase in their urgency for what they called, and perhaps thought, justice. All the hazards to which her excess of clemency might be imagined to expose her, were conjured up in the most alarming forms to repel her scruples. A plot for her assassination was disclosed, to which the French ambassador was ascertained to have been privy; — rumours were raised of invasions and insurrections; and it may be suspected that the queen, really alarmed in the first instance by the representations of her council, voluntarily contributed afterwards to keep up these delusions for the sake of terrifying the minds of men into an approval of the deed of blood.

At length, on February 1st, 1587, her majesty ordered secretary Davison to bring her the warrant, which had remained ready drawn in his hands for some weeks; and having signed it, she told him to get it sealed with the great seal; and in his way to call on Walsingham and tell him what she had done; "though," she added, smiling, "I fear he will die of grief when he hears of it;" — this minister being then sick. Davison obeyed her directions, and the warrant was sealed. The next day

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he received a message from her, purporting that he should forbear to carry the warrant to the lord-keeper till further orders. Surprised and perplexed, he immediately waited upon her to receive her further directions; when she chid him for the haste he had used in this matter; and talked in a fluctuating and undetermined manner respecting it, which greatly alarmed him. On leaving the queen, he immediately communicated the circumstances to Burleigh and Hatton; and thinking it safest for himself to rid his hands of the warrant, he delivered it up to Burleigh, by whom it had been drawn and from whom he had at first received it. A council was now called, consisting of such of the ministers as either the queen herself or Davison had made acquainted with the signing of the warrant; and it was proposed that, without any further communication with her majesty, it should be sent down for immediate execution to the four earls to whom it was directed.

Davison appears to have expressed some fears that he should be made to bear the blame of this step; but all his fellow-counsellors then present joined to assure him that they would share the responsibility; it was also said that her majesty had desired of several that she might not be troubled respecting any of the particulars of the last dismal scene; consequently it was impossible that she could complain of their proceeding without her privity. By these arguments Davison was seduced to give his concurrence; and Beal, a person noted for the vehemence of his attachment to the protestant cause and to the title of the countess of Hertford, was dis-

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patched with the instrument; in obedience to which Mary underwent the fatal stroke on February 8th.

The news of this event was received by Elizabeth with the most extraordinary demonstrations of astonishment, grief, and anger. Her countenance changed, her voice faltered, and she remained for some moments fixed and motionless; a violent burst of tears and lamentations succeeded, with which she mingled expressions of rage against her whole council. They had committed, she said, a crime never to be forgiven; they had put to death without her knowledge her dear kinswoman and sister, against whom they well knew that it was her fixed resolution never to proceed to this fatal extremity. She put on deep mourning; kept herself retired among her ladies abandoned to sighs and tears; and drove from her presence with the most furious reproaches such of her ministers as ventured to come near her. She caused several of the counsellors to be examined as to the share which they had taken in this transaction. Burleigh was of the number; and against him she expressed herself with such peculiar bitterness that he gave himself up for lost, and begged permission to retire with the loss of all his employments. This resignation was not accepted; and after a considerable interval, during which this great minister deprecated the wrath of his sovereign in letters of penitence and submission worthy only of an Oriental slave, she condescended to be reconciled to a man whose services she felt to be indispensable.

But the blood of Mary, or the indignation of her son, could not be appeased, it was thought,

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without a sacrifice; and a fit victim was at hand. From some words dropped by lord Burleigh on his examination, either incautiously, or with design to shift the blame from himself, it had appeared that it was the declaration of Davison respecting the sentiments of the queen, as expressed to himself, which had finally decided the council to send down the warrant; and on this ground proceedings were instituted against the unfortunate secretary. He was stripped of his office, sent to the Tower in spite of the remonstrances of Burleigh, and after several examinations subjected to a process in the Star-chamber for a twofold contempt. First, in revealing her majesty's counsels to others of her ministers; — secondly, in giving up to them an instrument which she had committed to him of special trust and secrecy, to be kept in case of any sudden emergency which might require its use.

Davison demanded that his own examination, which, with that of Burleigh, formed the whole evidence against him, should he read entire, instead of being picked and garbled by the crown lawyers; but this piece of justice the queen's counsel refused him, on the plea that they contained matter unfit to be divulged. He was found guilty, and sentenced to a fine of ten thousand marks and imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, by judges who at the same time expressed a high opinion both of his abilities and his integrity; and who certainly regarded his offence as nothing more than an error of judgment or a want of due caution. Elizabeth ordered a copy of his sentence to

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be immediately transmitted to the king of Scots, as triumphant evidence of that perfect innocence in the tragical *accident* of his mother's death, of which she had already made solemn protestation. James complied so far with obvious motives of policy as to accept her excuses without much enquiry; but posterity will not be disposed to dismiss so easily a curious investigation which it possesses abundant means of pursuing. The record of Burleigh's examination is still extant; and so likewise is Davison's apology; a piece which was composed by himself at the time, and addressed to Walsingham, who could best judge of its accuracy; and which, after being communicated to Camden, who inserted an extract from it in his Annals, has at length been found entire among the original papers of sir Amias Paulet. From this authentic source we derive the following ery extraordinary particulars.

It was by the lord-admiral that the queen first sent a message to Davison requiring him to bring the warrant for her signature: after subscribing it, she asked him if he were not heartily sorry it were done? to which he replied by a moderate and cautious approval of the act. She bade him tell the chancellor when he carried the warrant to be sealed, that he must "use it as secretly as might be." She then signed other papers which he had brought; dispatching them all "with the best disposition and willingness that could be." Afterwards she recurred to the subject; mentioned that she had delayed the act so long that the world might see "that she had not been violently or

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maliciously drawn unto it;" but that she had all along perceived the necessity of it to her own security. She then said, that she would have it done as secretly as might be, and not in the open court or green of the castle but in the hall. Just as Davison was gathering up his papers to depart, "she fell into some complaint of sir Amias Paulet and others that might have eased her of this burthen;" and she desired that he would yet "deal with secretary Walsingham to write jointly to sir Amias and sir Drue Drury to sound them in this matter; aiming still at this, that it might be so done as the blame might be removed from herself." This nefarious commission Davison strangely consented to execute; though he declares that he had always before refused to meddle therein "upon sundry of her majesty's motions," — as a thing which he utterly disapproved; and though he was fully persuaded that the wisdom and integrity of sir Amias would render the application fruitless. The queen repeated her injunctions of secrecy in the matter; and he departed.

He went to Walsingham, told him that the warrant was signed for executing the sentence against the queen of Scots; agreed with him at the same time about the letter to be written to sir Amias for her private assassination: — then got the warrant sealed, then dispatched the letter.

The next morning, the queen sent him word to forbear going to the chancellor till she had spoken with him again. He went directly to acquaint her that he had already seen him. She asked, "What needed such haste?" He pleaded her commands,

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and the danger of delay. The queen particularized some other form in which she thought it would be safer and better for her to have the thing done. Davison answered, that the just and honorable way would, he thought, be the safest and the best; if she meant to have it done at all. The queen made no reply, but went to dinner. — It appears from another statement of Davison's case, likewise drawn up by himself, that it was on this very day, without waiting either for Paulet's answer or for more explicit orders from her majesty, that he had the incredible rashness to deliver up the warrant to Burleigh and to concur in the subsequent proceedings of the council; though aware that the members were utterly ignorant of the queen's application to Paulet.

A day or two after, her majesty called him to her in the privy chamber, and told him smiling, that she had been troubled with him in a dream which she had had the night before, that the queen of Scots was put to death; and which so disturbed her, that she thought she could have run him through with a sword. He replied at first jestingly; but, on recollection, asked her with great earnestness, whether she did not intend that the matter should go forward? She answered vehemently and with an oath, that she did; but again harped upon the old string; — that this mode would cast all the blame upon herself; and a better might be contrived. The same afternoon she enquired if he had received an answer from sir Amias; which at the time he had not, but he brought it to her the next morning. It contained

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an absolute refusal to be concerned in any action inconsistent with justice and honor. At this the queen was much offended; she complained of what she called the "dainty perjury" of him and others who, contrary to their oath of association, cast the burthen upon herself. Soon after, she again blamed "the niceness of these precise fellows;" but said she would have the thing done without them, and mentioned one Wingfield who would undertake it. Davison remonstrated against this design; and also represented the dangerous dilemma in which Paulet and Drury would have been placed by complying with her wishes, since, if she avowed their act, she took it upon herself, "with her infinite dishonor;" if she disavowed it, they were ruined. It is absolutely inconceivable how a man who understood so well the perils which these persons had skilfully avoided, should have remained blind to those which menaced himself; yet Davison, by his own account, still suffered the queen to go on devising new schemes for the taking off of Mary; without either acquainting her that the privy council had already sent off Beal with the warrant, or interfering with them to procure, if possible, the recall of this messenger of death. Even on his next interview with her; which he believes to have been on Tuesday, the day before the execution of the sentence; when her majesty, after speaking of the daily peril in which she lived, swore a great oath that it was a shame for them all that the thing was not yet done, and spoke to him to write a letter to Paulet for the dispatch of the business; he contented himself

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with observing generally, that the warrant was, he thought, sufficient; and though the queen still inclined to think the letter requisite, he left her without even dropping a hint that it was scarcely within the limits of possibility that it should arrive before the sentence had been put in execution.

Of this unaccountable imprudence the utmost advantage was taken against him by his cruel and crafty mistress; whose chief concern it had all along been to discover by what artifice she might throw the greatest possible portion of the blame from herself upon others. Davison underwent a long imprisonment; the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously exacted; some scanty supplies for the relief of his immediate necessities, while in prison, were all that her majesty would vouchsafe him; and neither the zealous attestations of Burleigh, who must have felt that he owed him some reparation, to his merit and abilities and the importance of his public services, nor the subsequent earnest pleadings of her own beloved Essex for his restoration, could ever prevail with Elizabeth to lay aside the appearances of perpetual resentment which she thought good to preserve against him. She would neither reinstate him in office nor ever more admit him to her presence; unable perhaps to bear the pain of beholding a countenance which carried with it an everlasting reproach to her conscience.

From the formidable responsibilities of this unprecedented action, the wary Walsingham had withdrawn himself by favor of an opportune fit of sickness; which disabled him from taking part

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in any thing but the atrocious application to sir Amias Paulet; by which he could incur, as he well knew, no hazard. A still more crafty politician, Leicester, after throwing out in the council hints of her majesty's wishes which served to accelerate the decisive steps there taken, had artfully contrived to escape from all further participation in their proceedings. Both ministers, in secret letters to Scotland, washed their hands of the blood of Mary. But Leicester, not content with these defensive measures, sought to improve the opportunity to the destruction of a rival whom he had never ceased to hate and envy. To his insidious arts the temporary disgrace of Burleigh is probably to be imputed; and it seems to have been from the apprehension of his malignant misconstructions that the lord-treasurer refused to put on paper the particulars of his defence; and never ceased to implore admission to plead his cause before his sovereign in person. His perseverance at length prevailed: the queen saw him; heard his justification and restored him to her wonted grace; after which the tacit compromise between the minister and the favorite was restored;—that compromise by which, during eight-and-twenty years, each party had been content to share political power, personal influence, and royal favor, with the secret enemy whom he vainly wished, and hoped, and plotted, to displace.

To relate again those melancholy details of Mary's closing scene on which the historians of England and of Scotland, as well as the numerous biographers of this ill-fated princess, have ex-

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hausted all the arts of eloquence, would be equally needless and presumptuous. It is, however, important to remark, that she died rather with the triumphant air of a martyr to her religion, than with the meekness of a victim or the penitence of a culprit. She bade Melvil tell her son that she had done nothing injurious to his rights or his honor; — though she was actually in treaty to disinherit him, and had also consented to a nefarious plot for carrying him off prisoner to Rome; — and she denied with obstinacy to the last, the charge of conspiring the death of Elizabeth, though by her will, written the day before her death, she rewarded as faithful servants the two secretaries who had borne this testimony against her. A spirit of self-justification so haughty and so unprincipled, — a perseverance in deliberate falsehood so resolute and so shameless, — ought under no circumstances and in no personage, not even in a captive beauty and an injured queen, to be confounded, by any writer studious of the moral tendencies of history and capable of sound discrimination, with genuine religion, true fortitude, or the dignity which renders misfortune respectable.

Let such censure as is due be passed on the infringement of morality committed by Elizabeth, in detaining as a captive that rival kinswoman and pretender to her crown, whom the dread of still more formidable dangers had compelled to take refuge in her dominions: — let it be admitted, that the exercise of criminal jurisdiction over a person thus lawlessly detained in a foreign country,

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was another stretch of power, which none but a profligate politician will venture to defend;—and let the efforts of Mary to procure her own liberty, though with the destruction of her enemy and at the cost of a civil war to England, be held, if religion will permit, justifiable or venial; — but let not our resentment of the wrongs, or compassion for the long misfortunes of this unhappy woman, betray us into a blind concurrence in eulogiums lavished by prejudice or weakness on a character blemished by many foibles, stained by some enormous crimes, and never submitted to the guidance of the genuine principles of moral rectitude.

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CHAPTER XXI.

1587 AND 1588.

Small political effect of the death of Mary. — Warlike preparations of Spain destroyed by Drake. — Case of lord Beauchamp. — Death and character of the duchess of Somerset. — Hatton appointed chancellor. — Leicester returns to Holland — is again recalled. — Disgrace of lord Buckhurst. — Rupture with Spain. — Preparations against the Armada. — Notices of the earls of Cumberland and Northumberland — T. and R. Cecil — earl of Oxford — sir C. Blount — W. Raleigh — lord Howard of Effingham — Hawkins — Frobisher — Drake. — Leicester appointed general. — Queen at Tilbury. — Defeat of the Armada. — Introduction of newspapers. — Death of Leicester.

It is well deserving of remark, that the strongest and most extraordinary act of the whole administration of Elizabeth; — that which brought the blood of a sister-queen upon her head and indelible reproach upon her memory; — appears to have been productive of scarcely any assignable political effect. It changed her relations with no foreign power; it altered very little the state of parties at home; it recommended no new adviser to her favor; it occasioned the displacement of Davison alone.

She may appear, it is true, to have obtained by this stroke an immunity from that long series of dark conspiracies by which, during so many years, she had been disquieted and endangered. To de-

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liver the queen of Scots was an object for which many men had been willing to risk their lives; but none were found desperate or chivalrous enough to run the same hazard in order to avenge her. But the recent detection of Babington and his associates, and the rigorous justice executed upon them, was likely, even without the death of Mary, to have deterred from the speedy repetition of similar practices; and a crisis was now approaching, fitted to suspend the machinations of domestic faction, to check the operation even of religious bigotry, and to unite all hearts in the love, all hands in the protection, of their native soil.

Philip of Spain, though he purposely avoided as yet a declaration of war, was known to be intently occupied upon the means of taking signal vengeance on the queen of England for all the acts of hostility on her part of which he thought himself entitled to complain.

Already in the summer of 1587 the ports of Spain and Portugal had begun to be thronged with vessels of various sorts and of every size, destined to compose that terrible armada from which nothing less than the complete subjugation of England was anticipated; — already had the pope showered down his benedictions on the holy enterprise; and by a bull declaring the throne of the schismatic princess forfeited to the first occupant, made way for the pretensions of Philip, who claimed it as the true heir of the house of Lancaster.

But Elizabeth was not of a temper so timid or so supine as to suffer these preparations to advance

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without interruption. She ordered Drake to sail immediately for the coast of Spain, and put in practice against her enemy every possible mode of injury and annoyance. To the four great ships which she allotted to him for this service, the English merchants, instigated by the hopes of plunder, cheerfully added twenty-six more of different sizes; and with this force the daring leader steered for the port of Cadiz, where a richly-laden fleet lay ready to sail for Lisbon, the final rendezvous for the whole armada. By the impetuosity of his attack, he compelled six galleys which defended the mouth of the harbour to seek shelter under its batteries; and having thus forced an entrance, he captured, burned, and destroyed about a hundred store-ships and two galleons of superior size. This done, he returned to Cape St. Vincent; then took three castles; and destroying as he proceeded every thing that came in his way, even to the fishing-boats and nets, he endeavored to provoke the Spanish admiral to come out and give him battle off the mouth of the Tagus. But the marquis of Santa Croce deemed it prudent to suffer him to pillage the coast without molestation. Having fully effected this object, he made sail for the Azores, where the capture of a bulky carrack returning from India amply indemnified the merchants for all the expenses of the expedition, and enriched the admiral and his crews.

Drake returned to England in triumph, boasting that he had "singed the whiskers" of the king of Spain: nor was his vaunt unfounded: the destruction of the store-ships, and the havoc committed by him on the magazines of every kind, was

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a mischief so great, and for the present so irreparable, that it crippled the whole design, and compelled Philip to defer, for no less than a year, the sailing of his invincible armada.

The respite thus procured was diligently improved by Elizabeth for the completion of her plans of defence against the hour of trial, which she still anticipated. — The interval seems to afford a fit occasion for the relation of some incidents of a more private nature, but interesting as illustrative of the manners and practices of the age.

It has been already mentioned, that the secret marriage of the earl of Hertford with lady Catherine Grey, notwithstanding the sentence of nullity which the queen had caused to be so precipitately pronounced, and the punishment which she had tyrannically inflicted on the parties, had at length been duly established by a legal decision in which her majesty was compelled to acquiesce. The eldest son of the earl assumed in consequence his father's second title of lord Beauchamp, and became undoubted heir to all the claims of the Suffolk line. About the year 1585, this young nobleman married, unknown to his father, a daughter of sir Richard Rogers of Brianston; a gentleman of ancient family, whose son had previously been permitted to intermarry with a daughter of the house of Seymour. It might have been hoped that the earl of Hertford, from his own long and unmerited sufferings on a similar account, would have learned such a lesson of indulgence towards the affections of his children, that a match of greater disparity might have received from him

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a ready forgiveness. But he inherited, it seems, too much of the unfeeling haughtiness of his high-born mother; and in the fury of his resentment, on discovery of this connexion of his son's, he made no scruple of separating by force the young couple; in defiance of the sacred tie which bound them to each other. Lord Beauchamp bore in the beginning this arbitrary treatment with a dutiful submission, by which he flattered himself that the heart of his father must sooner or later be touched; but at length, finding all entreaties vain, and seeing reason to believe that a settled plan was entertained by the earl of estranging him for ever from his wife, he broke on a sudden from the solitary mansion which had been assigned him as his place of abode, or of banishment, and was hastening to London to throw himself at the feet of her majesty and beseech her interposition, when a servant of his father's overtook and forcibly detained him.

Well aware that his nearness to the crown would be likely to expose him to the indignation of the queen in marrying without her knowledge and consent, he at first suspected her majesty as the author of this attack on his liberty; but being soon informed of her declaration, "that he was no prisoner of hers, and the man had acted without warrant," he addressed to lord Burleigh an earnest petition for redress. In this remarkable piece, after a statement of his case, he begs to submit himself by the lord-treasurer's means to the queen and council; hoping *that they will grant him the benefit of the laws of the realm;* entreats that it

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would please his lordship to send for him by his warrant; and that he might not be injured by his father's men, though hardly dealt with by himself.

Such were the lengths to which, in this age, a parent could venture to proceed against his child; and such the measures which it was then necessary to take in order to obtain the protection of the laws! It is not stated whether lord Beauchamp was at this time a minor; but if so, he probably made application to Burleigh as master of the wards. Apparently his representations were not without effect; for he obtained in the end both a re-union with his wife and a reconciliation with his father.

The grandmother of this young nobleman, Anne duchess-dowager of Someset, died at a great age in 1587. Maternally descended from the Plantagenets and elevated by marriage to the highest rank of English nobility, she perhaps gloried in the character of being the proudest woman of her day. It has been already stated, that her repugnance to yield precedence to queen Catherine Parr, when remarried to the younger brother of her husband, was the first occasion of that division in the house of Seymour by which Northumberland succeeded in working its overthrow. In the misfortune to which she had thus contributed, the duchess largely shared. When the Protector was committed to the Tower, she also was carried thither amid the insults of the people, to whom her arrogance had rendered her odious; and rigorous examinations and an imprisonment of considerable duration here awaited her. She saw her

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husband stripped of his power and reputation, convicted of felony, and led by his enemies to an ignominious death; and what to a woman of her temper was perhaps a still severer trial, she beheld her son — that son for whose aggrandizement she had without remorse compelled her weak husband to strip his own eldest born of his birthright — dispossessed in his turn of title and estates, and reduced by an act of forfeiture to the humble level of a private gentleman.

Her remarriage to an obscure person of the name of Newdigate may prove, either that ambition was not the only inordinate affection to which the temper of the duchess was subject, or that she was now reduced to seek safety in insignificance.

During the reign of Mary, no favor beyond an unmolested obscurity was to be expected by the protestant house of Seymour; but it was one of the earliest acts of Elizabeth generously to restore to Edward Seymour the whole of the Protector's confiscated estates not previously granted to his elder half-brother, and with them the title of earl of Hertford; the highest which his father had received from Henry VIII., and that with which he ought to have rested content. Still, no door was opened for the return of the duchess of Somerset to power or favor; Elizabeth could never cease to behold in this haughty woman at once the deadly enemy of Seymour; — that Seymour who was the first to touch her youthful heart, and whose pretensions to her hand had precipitated his ruin; — and that rigid censor of her early levities, who,

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dressed in a "brief authority," had once dared to assume over her a kind of superiority, which she had treated at the time with disdain, and apparently continued to recollect with bitterness.

It appears from a letter in which the duchess earnestly implores the intercession of Cecil in behalf of her son when under confinement on account of his marriage, that she was at the time of writing it excluded from the royal presence; and it was nine whole years before all the interest she could make, all the solicitations which she compelled herself to use towards persons whom she could once have commanded at her pleasure, proved effectual in procuring his release. The vast wealth which she had amassed must still, however, have maintained her ascendancy over her own family and numerous dependants; though in its final disposal her majesty evinced a strong disposition to interfere. Learning that she had appointed her eldest son sole executor, to the prejudice of his brother, sir Henry Seymour, whom she did not love, the queen sent a gentleman to expostulate with her and urge her strongly to change this disposition. The aged duchess, after long refusal, agreed at length to comply with the royal wish: but this promise she omitted to fulfil; and some obstruction was in consequence given to the execution of her last will. We possess a large inventory of her jewels and valuables, among which are enumerated "two pieces of unicorn's horn;" an article highly valued in that day, from its supposed efficacy as an antidote, or a test, for poisons. The extreme smallness of her bequests for charitable

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purposes was justly remarked as a strong indication of a harsh and unfeeling disposition, in an age when similar benefactions formed almost the sole resource of the sick and needy.

In this year lord-chancellor Bromley died; and it should appear that there was at the time no other lawyer of eminence who had the good fortune to stand high in the favor of the queen and her counsellors; for we are told that she had it in contemplation to appoint as his successor the earl of Rutland; a nobleman in the thirtieth year of his age, distinguished indeed among the courtiers for his proficiency in elegant literature and his knowledge of the laws of his country, but known to the public only in the capacity of a colonel of foot in the bloodless campaign of the earl of Sussex against the Northern rebels.

How far this young man might have been qualified to do honor to so extraordinary a choice, remains matter of conjecture, his lordship being carried off by a sudden illness within a week of Bromley himself; after which her majesty thought proper to invest with this high office sir Christopher Hatton her vice-chamberlain.

This was a nomination scarcely less mortifying to lawyers than that of the earl of Rutland. Hatton's abode at one of the inns of court had been so short as scarcely to entitle him to a professional character; and since his fine dancing had recommended him to the favor of her majesty, he had entirely abandoned his legal pursuits for the life and the hopes of a courtier. It is asserted that his enemies promoted his appointment with more zeal

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than his friends, in the confident expectation of seeing him disgrace himself: what may be regarded as more certain is, that he was so disquieted by intimations of the queen's repenting of her choice, that he tendered to her his resignation before he entered on the duties of his office; and that in the beginning of his career the serjeants refused to plead before him. But he soon found means both to vanquish their repugnance, and to establish in the public mind an opinion of his integrity and sufficiency, which served to redeem his sovereign from the censure or ridicule to which this extraordinary choice seemed likely to expose her. He had the wisdom to avail himself, in all cases of peculiar difficulty, of the advice of two learned serjeants; — in other matters he might reasonably regard his own prudence and good sense as competent guides. In fact, it was only since the reformation that this great office had begun to be filled by common-law lawyers: before this period it was usually exercised by some ecclesiastic who was also a civilian; and instances were not rare of the seals having been held in commission by noblemen during considerable intervals; — facts which, in justice to Hatton and to Elizabeth, ought on this occasion to be kept in mind.

The pride of Leicester had been deeply wounded by the circumstances of that forced return from Holland which, notwithstanding all his artful endeavours to color it to the world, was perfectly understood at court as a disgraceful recall.

The queen, in the first emotions of indignation and disappointment, called forth by his ill success,

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had in public made use of expressions respecting his conduct, the effect of which he well knew could only be obviated by some mark of favor equally public; and he spared no labor for the attainment of this object. By an extraordinary exertion of that influence over her majesty's affections which enabled him to hold her judgment in lasting captivity, he was at length successful; and the honorable and lucrative place of chief justice in Eyre of all the forests south of Trent was bestowed upon him early in 1587. So far was well; but he disdained to rest satisfied without the restitution of that supreme command over the Dutch provinces which had flattered his vanity with a title never borne by an Englishman before; that of *Excellence*. His usual arts prevailed in this instance likewise. By means of the authority which he had surreptitiously reserved to himself, he held the governors of towns and forts in Holland in complete dependence, whilst his solemn ostentation of religion had secured the zealous attachment of the reformed clergy; an order who then exerted an important influence over public opinion. It had thus been in his power to form a strong faction in the country, through the instrumentality of which he raised such impediments to the measures of administration, that the States-general saw themselves at length compelled, as the least of two evils, to solicit the queen for his return. It was a considerable time before she could be brought to sanction a step of which her sagest counsellors, secretly hostile to Leicester, labored to show the total inexpediency. The affairs

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of Holland suffered at once by the dissensions which the malice of Leicester had sown, and by the long irresolution of Elizabeth; and she at length sent over lord Buckhurst to make enquiry into some measures of the States which had given her umbrage; and to report upon the whole matter.

This sagacious and upright statesman was soon satisfied where the blame ought to rest; and he suggested a plan for the government of the country which excluded the idea of Leicester's return. But the intrigues of the favorite finally prevailed; and he was authorized, in June, 1587, to resume a station of which he had proved himself equally incapable and unworthy; having previously been further gratified by her majesty with the office of lord high-steward, and with permission to resign that of master of the horse in behalf of his step-son the earl of Essex. Fortune, however, disdained to smile upon his arms; and his failure in an attempt to raise the siege of Sluys produced such an exasperation of his former quarrel with the States, that in the month of November the queen found herself compelled to supersede him; appointing the brave lord Willoughby captain-general in his place.

On his return to England, Leicester found lord Buckhurst preparing against him a charge of malversation in Holland; and he received a summons to justify himself before the council; but he better consulted his safety by flying for protection to the footstool of the throne. The queen, touched by his expressions of humility and sorrow, and his earnest entreaties "that she would not receive

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with disgrace on his return him whom she had sent forth with honor; nor bring down alive to the grave one whom her former goodness had raised from the dust;" consented once again to receive him into his wonted favor. Nor was this all; for on the day when he was expected to give in his answer before the council, he appeared in his place at the board, and by a triumphant appeal to her majesty, whose secret orders limited, as he asserted, his public commission, baffled at once the hopes of his enemies and the claims of public justice. What was still more gross, he was suffered to succeed in procuring a censure to be passed upon lord Buckhurst, who continued in disgrace for the remaining nine months of Leicester's life, during which period a royal command restrained him within his house. Elizabeth must in this instance have known her own injustice even while she was committing it; but by the loyal and chivalrous nobility who knelt before the throne of the maiden queen, "her buffets and rewards were ta'en with equal thanks;" and Abbot, the chaplain of lord Buckhurst, has recorded of his patron, that "so obsequious was he to this command, that in all the time he never would endure, openly or secretly, by day or night, to see either wife or child." He had his reward; for no sooner was the queen restored to liberty by the death of her imperious favorite, than she released her kinsman; honored him with the garter; procured, two years after, his election to the chancellorship of the university of Oxford; and finally appointed him Bur-

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leigh's successor in the honorable and lucrative post of lord-treasurer.

During the unavoidable delay which the expedition of Drake had occasioned to the designs of Philip II., the prince of Parma had by his master's directions been endeavoring to amuse the vigilance of Elizabeth with overtures of negotiation. The queen, at the request of the prince, sent plenipotentiaries to treat with him in Flanders; and though the Hollanders absolutely refused to enter into the treaty, the Spanish general and the English ministers proceeded with apparent earnestness in the task of settling preliminaries. Some writers maintain, that there was, from the beginning, as little sincerity on one side as on the other; to gain time for the preparations of attack or defence being the sole object of both parties in these manœuvres. Yet the cautious and pacific character of the policy of Elizabeth; and the secret dread which she ever entertained of a serious contest with the power of Spain, seem to render it more probable that the wish and hope of an accommodation was at first, on her side, real; and that the fears of the Dutch States that their interests might become the sacrifice were consequently by no means destitute of foundation. Leicester is said to have had the merit of first opening the eyes of his sovereign to the fraudulent conduct of the prince of Parma; — who in fact was furnished with no powers to treat; — and to have earned for himself by this discovery the restoration of her favor.

In March, 1588, these conferences broke off abruptly. It was impossible for the parties longer to

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deceive, or to act the being deceived; for all Europe now rang with the mighty preparations of king Philip for the conquest of England; — preparations which occupied the whole of his vast though disjointed empire, from the Flemish provinces which still owned his yoke, to the distant ports of Sicily and Naples.

The spirit of the English people rose with the emergency. All ranks and orders vied with each other in an eager devotedness to the sacred cause of national independence; the rich poured forth their treasure with unsparing hand; the chivalrous and young rushed on board ships of their own equipment, a band of generous volunteers; the poor demanded arms to destroy every invader who should set his foot on English ground; while the clergy animated their audience against the Pope and the Spaniard, and invoked a blessing on the holy warfare of their fellow-citizens. Elizabeth, casting aside all her weaknesses, showed herself worthy to be the queen and heroine of such a people. Her prudence, her vigilance, her presence of mind, — which failed not for a moment, — inspired unbounded confidence; while her cheerful countenance and spirited demeanor breathed hope and courage and alacrity into the coldest bosoms. Never did a sovereign enter upon a great and awful contest with a more strenuous resolution to fulfil all duties, to confront all perils; never did a people repay with such ardor of gratitude, such enthusiasm of attachment, the noblest virtues of a prince.

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The best troops of the country were at this time absent in Flanders; and there was no standing army except the queen's guard and the garrisons kept in a few forts on the coast or on the Scottish border. The royal navy was extremely small; and the revenues of the crown were totally inadequate to the effort of raising it to any thing approaching a parity with the fleets of Spain. The queen possessed not a single ally on the Continent capable of affording her aid: she doubted the fidelity of the king of Scots to her interests; and a formidable mass of disaffection was believed to subsist among her own subjects of the catholic communion. It was on the spontaneous efforts of individuals that the whole safety of the country at this momentous crisis was left dependent: if these failed, England was lost: — but in such a cause, at such a juncture, they could not fail; and the first appeal made by the government to the patriotism of the people was answered with that spirit in which a nation is invincible. A message was sent by the council to enquire of the corporation of London what the city would be willing to contribute for the public service? The corporation requested to be informed what the council judged requisite in such a case. Fifteen ships and five thousand men was the answer. Two days after, the city "humbly entreated the council, in sign of their perfect love and loyalty to prince and country, to accept ten thousand men and thirty ships amply furnished." — "And," adds the chronicler, "even as London, London like, gave precedent, the

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whole kingdom kept true rank and equipage." At this time, the able-bodied men in the capital, between the ages of eighteen and sixty, amounted to no more than 17,088.

Without entering into further detail respecting the particular contributions of different towns or districts to the common defence, it is sufficient to remark, that every sinew was strained, and that little was left to the charge of government but the task of arranging and applying the abundant succours furnished by the zeal of the country. One trait of the times, however, it is essential to commemorate. Terror is perhaps the most merciless of all sentiments, and that which is least restrained either by shame or by the sense of justice; and under this debasing influence some of the queen's advisers did not hesitate to suggest, that in a crisis so desperate, she ought to consult her own safety and that of the country, by seeking pretexts to take away the lives of some of the leading catholics. They cited in support of this atrocious proposal the example of her father; who, before his departure for the French wars, had without scruple brought to the block his own cousin the marquis of Exeter and several others, whose chief crime was their attachment to the ancient faith, and their enjoying a degree of popularity which might enable them to raise commotions in his absence.

Elizabeth rejected with horror these suggestions of cowardice and cruelty; at the same time that she omitted no measures of precaution which she regarded as justifiable. The existing laws against

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priests and seminary-men were enforced with vigilance and severity: all popish recusants were placed under close inspection; and a considerable number of those accounted most formidable were placed under safe custody in Wisbeach-castle.

To these gentlemen, however, the queen caused it to be intimated, that the step which she had taken was principally designed for their protection; since it was greatly to be apprehended that, in the event of a landing of the Spaniards, the Roman catholics might become the victims of some ebullition of popular fury which it would not then be in the power of the government to repress.

This temperate proceeding on the part of her majesty was productive of the best effects. The catholics who remained at liberty became earnest to prove themselves possessed of that spirit of patriotism and loyalty for which she had given them credit: some entered the ranks as volunteers; others armed and encouraged their tenantry and dependents for the defence of their country; several even fitted out vessels at their own expense, and intrusted the command of them to protestant officers on whom the queen could entirely rely.

After the defeat of the armada, the prisoners at Wisbeach-castle, having signed the submission required by law of such as had offended in hearing mass and absenting themselves from church, petitioned the privy council for their liberty; but a bond for good behaviour being further demanded of them, with the condition of being obedient to such orders as six members of the council should write down respecting them, they refused

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to comply with such terms of enlargement; and remained in custody. As the submission which they had tendered voluntarily was in terms apparently no less strong than the bond which they refused, it was conjectured that this piece had been drawn up by their ghostly fathers with some secret equivocation or mental reservation; a suspicion which is strongly confirmed by the characters and subsequent conduct of some of these persons; — the most noted fanatics of their party; — amongst whom are found the names of Talbot, Catesby, and Tresham, afterwards principal conspirators in the detestable gunpowder-plot. *

The ships equipped by the nobility and gentry to combat the armada amounted in the whole to forty-three; and it was on board these vessels that young men of the noblest blood and highest hopes now made their first essay in arms. In this number may be distinguished George Clifford third earl of Cumberland, one of the most remarkable, if not the greatest characters of the reign of Elizabeth.

The illustrious race of Clifford takes origin from William duke of Normandy; in a later age its blood was mingled with that of the Plantagenets by the marriage of the seventh lord de Clifford with a daughter of the celebrated Hotspur by Elizabeth his wife, whose father was Edward Mortimer earl of March. Notwithstanding this alliance with the house of York, two successive lords de Clifford were slain in the civil wars fighting strenuously on the Lancastrian side. It was

* *Life of Whitgift, by Strype.*

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to the younger of these, whose sanguinary temper gained him the surname of the Butcher, that the barbarous murder of the young earl of Rutland was popularly imputed; and a well founded dread of the vengeance of the Yorkists caused his widow to conceal his son and heir under the lowly disguise of a shepherd-boy; in which condition he grew up among the fells of Westmorland totally illiterate, and probably unsuspicious of his origin.

At the end of five-and-twenty years, the restoration of the line of Lancaster in the person of Henry VII. restored to lord de Clifford the name, rank, and large possessions of his ancestors; but the peasant-noble preferred through life that rustic obscurity in which his character had been formed and his habits fixed, to the splendors of a court or the turmoils of ambition. He kept aloof from the capital; and it was only in the field of Flodden, to which he led in person his hardy tenantry, that this de Clifford exhibited some sparks of the warlike fire inherent in his race.

His successor, by qualities very different from the homely virtues which had obtained for his father among his tenantry and neighbours the surname of the Good, recommended himself to the special favor of Henry VIII.; who created him earl of Cumberland, and matched his heir to his own niece lady Eleanor Brandon. The sole fruit of this illustrious alliance — which involved the earl in an almost ruinous course of expense — was a daughter who afterwards became the mother of Ferdinando earl of Derby; a nobleman whose mysterious and untimely fate remains to be hereafter related. By a second and better-assorted

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marriage, the earl of Cumberland became the father of George his successor, our present subject, who proved the most celebrated of this distinguished family. The death of his father during his childhood had brought him under wardship to the queen; and by her command he was sent to pursue his studies at Peterhouse, Cambridge, under Dr. Whitgift, afterwards primate. Here he applied himself with ardor to the mathematics; and it was apparently the bent of his genius towards these studies which first caused him to turn his attention to nautical matters. An enterprising spirit and a turn for all the fashionable profusions of the day, which speedily plunged him in pecuniary embarrassments, added incitements to his activity in these pursuits; and in 1586 he fitted out three ships and a pinnace to cruise against the Spaniards and plunder their settlements. It appears extraordinary that he did not assume in person the command of his little squadron; but combats and triumphs perhaps still more glorious in his youthful estimation awaited him on the smoother element of the court.

In the games of chivalry he bore off the prize of courage and dexterity from all his peers: the romantic band of knights-tilters boasted of him as one of its brightest ornaments; and her majesty deigned to encourage his devotedness to her glory by an envied pledge of favor.

As he stood or kneeled before her, she dropped her glove, perhaps not undesignedly; and on his picking it up, graciously desired him to keep it. He caused the trophy to be encircled with diamonds;

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and ever after, at all tilts and tourneys, bore it conspicuously placed in front of his high-crowned hat.

But the emergencies of the year 1588 summoned him to resign the fopperies of an antiquated knight-errantry for serious warfare and the exercise of more genuine valor. Taking upon him the command of a ship, he joined the fleet appointed to hang upon the motions of the Spanish armada and harass it in its progress up the British Channel; and on several occasions, especially in the last action, off Calais, he signalised himself by uncommon exertions.

In reward of his services, her majesty granted him her royal commission to pursue a voyage to the South Sea which he had already projected; she even lent him for the occasion one of her own ships; and thus encouraged, he commenced that long series of naval enterprises whence he has derived an enduring name. After two or three voyages, he constantly declined her majesty's gracious offers of the loan of her ships; because they were accompanied with the express condition, that he should never lay any vessel of hers on-board a Spanish one; lest both should be destroyed by fire. Such was the character of mingled penuriousness and timidity which pervaded the maritime policy of this great princess, even after the defeat of the armada had demonstrated, that, ship for ship, her navy might defy the world!

At this period, all attacks, of whatever nature, against the power of Spain, were naturally regarded with high favor and admiration; and it cannot be

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denied that in his long and hazardous expeditions the earl of Cumberland evinced high courage, undaunted enterprise, and an extraordinary share of perseverance under repeated failures and disappointments and hardships of every kind. It is also true that his vigorous attacks exceedingly embarrassed the intercourse of Spain with her colonies; and besides the direct injury which they inflicted, compelled this power to incur a vast additional expense for the protection of her treasure-ships and settlements. But the benefit to England was comparatively trifling; and to the earl himself, notwithstanding occasional captures of great value, his voyages were far from producing any lasting advantage; they scarcely repaid on the whole the cost of equipment, while the influx of sudden wealth with which they sometimes gratified him, only ministered food to that magnificent profusion in which he finally squandered both his acquisitions and his patrimony. None of the liberal and enlightened views which had prompted the efforts of the great navigators of this and a preceding age appear to have had any share in the enterprises of the earl of Cumberland. Even the thirst of martial glory seems in him to have been subordinate to the love of gain, and that appetite for rapine to which his loose and extravagant habits had given the force of a passion.

He had formed, early in life, an attachment to the beautiful daughter of that worthy character and rare exemplar of old English hospitality, sir William Holles, ancestor to the earls of Clare of that surname; but her father, from a singular

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pride of independence, refused to listen to his proposals; saying, "that he would not have to stand cap-in-hand to his son-in-law; his daughter should marry a good gentleman with whom he might have society and friendship." Thus disappointed of the object of his affections, he matched himself with a daughter of the earl of Bedford; a woman of merit, as it appears, but whom their mutual indifference precluded from exerting over him any salutary influence. As a husband, he proved both unfaithful and cruel; and separating himself after a few years from his countess, on pretence of incompatibility of tempers, he suffered her to pine not only in desertion, but in poverty. We shall hereafter have occasion to view this celebrated earl in the idly-solemn personage of queen's champion; meantime, he must be dismissed with no more of applause than may be challenged by a character signally deficient in the guiding and restraining virtues, and endowed with such a share only of the active ones as served to render it conspicuous and glittering, rather than truly and permanently illustrious.

Henry earl of Northumberland likewise joined the fleet, on-board a vessel hired by himself. Immediately after the fatal catastrophe of his father in 1585, this young nobleman, anxious apparently to efface the stigma of popery and disaffection stamped by the rash attempts of his uncle and father on the gallant name of Percy, had seized the opportunity of embarking with Leicester for the wars of the Low Countries. He now sought distinction on another element and in a cause still

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nearer to the hearts of Englishmen. The conversion of the head of such a house to protestantism and loyalty could not but be regarded by Elizabeth with feelings of peculiar complacency; and in 1593 she was pleased to confer upon the earl the insignia of the garter. He was present in 1601 at the siege of Ostend; where he considered himself as so much aggrieved by the conduct of sir Francis Vere, that on the return of this officer to England he sent him a challenge. During the decline of the queen's health, Northumberland, who was by no means destitute of the spirit of political intrigue, distinguished himself by the warmth with which he embraced the interests of the king of Scots; and he was the first privy councillor named by James on his accession to the English throne. But the fate of his family seemed still to pursue him: on some unsupported charges connected with the gunpowder-plot, he was stripped of all his offices, heavily fined and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; the tardy mercy of the king granted his release at the end of fifteen years; and he passed the remainder of his life in rural retirement. This unfortunate nobleman was a man of considerable talents: the abundant leisure for intellectual pursuits afforded by his long captivity was chiefly employed by him in the study of the mathematics, including perhaps the occult sciences; and as he was permitted to enjoy freely the conversation of such men of learning as he was desirous of assembling around him, he became one of their most bountiful patrons.

Thomas Cecil, eldest son of the lord-treasurer,

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formerly a volunteer in the expedition to Scotland undertaken in favor of the regent Murray, and more recently appointed governor of the Brill in consideration of his services in the war in Flanders, also embarked to repel the invaders; as did Robert his half-brother, the afterwards celebrated secretary of state created earl of Salisbury by James I.

Robert Cecil was deformed in his person, of a feeble and sickly constitution, and entirely devoted to the study of politics; and nothing, it is to be presumed, but his steady determination of omitting no means of attracting to himself the royal favor which he contemplated as the instrument by which to work out his future fortunes, could have engaged him in a service so repugnant to his habits and pursuits; and for which the hand of nature herself had so obviously disabled him.

The earl of Oxford, in expiation perhaps of some of those violences of temper and irregularities of conduct by which he was perpetually offending the queen, and obstructing his own advancement in the state, equipped on this occasion a vessel which he commanded.

Sir Charles Blount, notwithstanding the narrowness of his present fortunes, judged it incumbent on him to give a similar proof of attachment to his queen and country; and the circumstance affords an occasion of introducing to the notice of the reader one of the brightest ornaments of the court of Elizabeth.

This distinguished gentleman, now in the twenty-fifth year of his age, was the second son of James sixth lord Montjoy of the ancient Norman name of

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Le Blonde, corruptly written Blount. The family-history might serve as a commentary on the reigning follies of the English court during two or three generations. His grandfather, a splendid courtier, consumed his resources in the ostentatious equipage with which he attended to the French wars his master Henry VIII., with whom he had the misfortune to be a favorite. His father squandered a diminished patrimony still more absurdly in his search after the philosopher's stone; and the ruin of the family was so consummated by the ill-timed prodigalities of his elder brother, that when his death, without children, in 1594, transferred the title of lord Montjoy to sir Charles, a thousand marks had become the whole amount of the annual income by which the honor was to be maintained. It is needless to add, that the younger brother's portion, with which Sir Charles set out in life, was next to nothing. Having thus his own way to make, immediately after completing his education at Oxford, he entered himself of the Inner Temple, as meaning to pursue the profession of the law: but fortune had ordained it otherwise; and being led by his curiosity to visit the court, he there found "a pretty strange kind of admission;" which cannot be related with more vivacity than in the original words of Naunton.

"He was then much about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composure, and tall in his person. The queen was then at Whitehall and at dinner; whither he came to see the fashion of the court. The queen had soon found him out; and with a kind of an affected

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frown asked the lady-carver who he was? She answered, she knew him not; insomuch that enquiry was made from one to another who he might be; till at length it was told the queen that he was brother to the lord William Montjoy. This inquisition, with the eye of majesty fixed upon him (as she was wont to do to daunt men she knew not), stirred the blood of this young gentleman, insomuch as his colour went and came; which the queen observing called him unto her, and gave him her hand to kiss; encouraging him with gracious words and new looks; and so, diverting her speech to the lords and ladies, she said, that she no sooner observed him but that she knew there was in him some noble blood; with some other expressions of pity towards his house. And then again, demanding his name, she said, 'Fail you not to come to the court, and I will bethink myself how to do you good.' And this was his inlet, and the beginning of his grace."* It does not appear what boon the queen immediately bestowed upon her new courtier; but he deserted the profession of the law; sat in the parliaments of 1585 and 1586 as the representative of two different Cornish boroughs; received in the latter year the honor of knighthood; and soon after his exertions against the armada appeared considerable enough at court to provoke the hostility of the earl of Essex.

Raleigh, now high in favor and invested with the offices of captain of the queen's guard and her lieutenant for Cornwall, had been actively engaged

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* *Fragmenta Regalia.*

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since the last year in training to arms the militia of that county. He had also been employed, as a member of the council of war, in concerting the general plan of national defence: but his ardent and adventurous valor prompted him to aid his country in her hour of trial on both elements, and with hand as well as head: throwing himself therefore into a vessel of his own which waited his orders, he hastened to share in the discomfiture of her insulting foe.

But it would be endless to enumerate all who spontaneously came forward to partake the perils and the glory of this ever-memorable contest; and the naval commanders of principal eminence have higher claims to our notice.

The dignity of lord-high admiral, — customarily conferred on mere men of rank, in whom not the slightest tincture of professional knowledge was required or expected, — at this critical juncture belonged to Charles, second lord Howard of Effingham, of whom we have formerly spoken; and who appears never, in the whole course of his life, to have been at sea before, excepting once; and that only on an occasion of ceremony. He was every way an untried man, and as yet distinguished for nothing except the accomplishments of a courtier: but he exhibited on trial courage, resolution, and conduct; an affability of manner which endeared him to the sailors, and a prudent sense of his own inexperience, which rendered him perfectly docile to the counsels of those excellent sea-officers by whom he had the good fortune to find himself surrounded. He encouraged his crew, and mani-

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fested his alacrity in the service by putting his own hand to the rope which was to tow his ship out of harbour; and he afterwards gave proof of his good sense and his patriotism by his opposition to the orders which her majesty's excess of economy led her to issue, on the first dispersion of the armada by a storm, for laying up four of her largest ships; earnestly requesting that he might be permitted to retain them at his own expense, rather than the safety of the country should be risked by their dismissal. John Hawkins, one of the ablest and most experienced seamen of the age, was chiefly relied upon for the conduct of the main fleet; in which he acted as vice-admiral. For his good service he was knighted by the lord-admiral on board his own ship immediately after the action; when the like honor was bestowed on that eminent navigator Frobisher, who led into action the Triumph, one of the three first-rates, which were all that the English navy could then boast.

To the hero Drake, as rear-admiral, a separate squadron was intrusted; and it was by this division that the principal execution was done upon the discomfited armada, as it fled in confusion before the valor of the English and the fury of their tempestuous seas. An enormous galleon surrendered without firing a shot to the much smaller vessel of Drake, purely from the terror of his name.

Whilst the lord-admiral with the principal fleet, stationed off Plymouth, prepared to engage the armada in its passage up the channel, Sir Henry Seymour, youngest son of the protector, was sta-

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tioned with a smaller force, partly English, partly Flemish, off Dunkirk, for the purpose of intercepting the duke of Parma, who was lying with his veteran forces on the coast, ready to embark and co-operate in the conquest of England.

In the midst of these naval preparations, which happily sufficed in the event to frustrate entirely the designs of the enemy, equal activity was exerted to place the land-forces in a condition to dispute the soil against the finest troops and most consummate general of Europe.

An army of reserve, consisting of about thirty-six thousand men, was drawn together for the defence of the queen's person; and appointed to march towards any quarter in which the most pressing danger should manifest itself. A smaller, but probably better appointed force of twenty-three thousand, was stationed in a camp near Tilbury to protect the capital, against which it was not doubted that the most formidable efforts of the enemy on making good his landing would be immediately directed.

Owing to the long peace which the country had enjoyed, England possessed at this juncture no general of reputation; though, doubtless, a sufficiency of men of resolution and capacity whom a short experience of actual service would have matured into able officers. Under circumstances which afforded to the government so small a choice of men, the respective appointments of Arthur lord Grey, — distinguished by the vigor which he had exerted in suppressing the last Irish rebellion, — to the post of president of the council

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of war; of lord Hunsdon, — a brave soldier long practised in the desultory warfare of the northern border, as well as in several regular campaigns against Scotland, — to the command of the army of reserve; and of the earl of Essex, — a gallant youth who had fleshed his maiden sword and gained his spurs in the affair of Zutphen, — to the post of general of the horse in the main army; — seem to have merited the sanction of public approbation. But the most strenuous defender of the measures of her majesty must have been staggered by her nomination of Leicester; — the hated, the disgraced, the incapable Leicester; — to the station of highest honor, danger, and importance; — that of commander in chief of the army at Tilbury. Military experience, indeed, the favorite possessed in a higher degree than most of those to whom the defence of the country was now of necessity intrusted; but in skill and conduct he had proved himself deficient; even his personal courage was doubtful; and his recent failures in Holland must have inspired distrust in the bosom of every individual, whether officer or private, appointed to serve under him. Something must be allowed for the embarrassments of the time, the deficiency of military talent, and the high rank of Leicester in the service, which forbade his employment in any inferior capacity: but, with all these palliations, the nomination of such an antagonist to confront the duke of Parma must eternally be regarded as the weakest act into which the prudence of Elizabeth was ever betrayed by a blind and unaccountable partiality.

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All these preparations for defence being finally arranged, her majesty resolved to visit in person the camp at Tilbury, for the purpose of encouraging her troops.

It had long been a part of the commendation of Elizabeth, that in her public appearances, of whatsoever nature, no sovereign on record had ever *acted* the part so well, or with such universal applause. But on this memorable and momentous occasion, when — like a second Boadicea, armed for defence against the invader of her country, — she appeared at once the warrior and the queen : the sacred feelings of the moment, superior to all the artifices of factitious dignity and studied condescension, inspired her with that impressive earnestness of look, of words, of gesture, which alone is truly dignified and truly eloquent.

Mounted on a noble charger, with a general's truncheon in her hand, a corselet of polished steel laced over her magnificent apparel, and a page in attendance bearing her white-plumed helmet, she rode bare-headed from rank to rank with a courageous deportment and smiling countenance ; and amid the affectionate plaudits and shouts of military ardor which burst from the animated and admiring soldiery, she addressed them in the following brief and spirited harangue : —

" My loving people ; we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery ; but, assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear : I have always so be-

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haved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects. And, therefore, I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king; and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which rather than any dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.

"I know already by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

The extraordinary reliance placed by the queen in this emergency upon the counsels of Leicester encouraged the insatiable favorite to grasp at honor and authority still more exorbitant; and he ventured to urge her majesty to invest him with

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the office of her lieutenant in England and Ireland; a dignity paramount to all other commands. She had the weakness to comply; and it is said that the patent was actually drawn out, when the defeat of the armada, by taking away all pretext for the creation of such an officer, gave her leisure to attend to the earnest representations of Hatton and Burleigh on the imprudence of conferring on any subject powers so excessive, capable even in some instances of controlling her own prerogative. On better consideration the project was therefore dropped.

It is foreign from the business of this work to detail the particulars of that signal victory obtained by English seamanship and English valor against the boasted armament of Spain; prodigiously superior as it was in every circumstance of force, excepting the moral energies employed to wield it. While the history of the year 1588 in all its details must ever form a favorite chapter in the splendid tale of England's naval glory, it will here suffice to mark the general results.

Not a single Spaniard set foot on English ground but as a prisoner: one English vessel only, and that of small size, became the prize of the invaders. The duke of Parma did not venture to embark a man. The king of Scots, standing firm to his alliance with his illustrious kinswoman, afforded not the slightest succour to the Spanish ships which the storms and the English drove in shattered plight upon his rugged coasts; while the lord-deputy of Ireland caused to be massacred without remorse the crews of all the vessels wrecked upon

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that island in their disastrous circumnavigation of Great Britain: so that not more than half of the vaunted *Invincible Armada* returned in safety to the ports of Spain. Never in the records of history was the event of war on one side more entirely satisfactory and glorious, on the other more deeply humiliating and utterly disgraceful. Philip supported indeed the credit of his personal character by the dignified composure with which he listened to the tidings of this great disaster; but it was out of his power to throw the slightest veil over the dishonor of the Spanish arms, or repair the total and final failure of the catholic cause.

By the English nation, this signal discomfiture of its most dreaded and detested foe was hailed as the victory of protestant principles no less than of national independence; and the tidings of the national deliverance were welcomed by all the reformed churches of Europe with an ardor of joy and thankfulness proportioned to the intenseness of anxiety with which they had watched the event of a conflict, where their own dearest interests were staked along with the existence of their best ally and firmest protector.

Repeated thanksgivings were observed in London in commemoration of this great event: on the anniversary of the queen's birth, a general festival was proclaimed, and celebrated with "sermons, singing of psalms, bonfires, &c.;" and on the following Sunday her majesty went in state to St. Paul's, magnificently attended by her nobles and great officers, and borne along on a sumptuous chariot formed like a throne, with four pillars supporting

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a canopy, and drawn by white horses. The streets through which she passed were hung with blue cloth in honor of the navy; and the colors taken from the enemy were borne in triumph.

Elizabeth rewarded the lord-admiral with a considerable pension, and settled annuities on the wounded seamen and on some of the more necessitous among the officers; the rest she honored with much personal notice and many gracious terms of commendation, which they were expected to receive in lieu of more substantial remuneration; — for parsimony, the darling virtue of Elizabeth, was not forgotten even in her gratitude to the brave defenders of her country.

Two medals were struck on this great occasion; one, representing a fleet retiring under full sail, with the motto, "*Venit, vidit, fugit:*" the other, fire-ships scattering a fleet; the motto, "*Dux fœmina facti;*" a compliment to the queen, who is said to have herself suggested the employment of these engines of destruction, by which the armada suffered severely.

The intense interest in public events excited in every class by the threatened invasion of Spain gave rise to the introduction of one of the most important inventions of social life — that of newspapers. Previously to this period, all articles of intelligence had been circulated in manuscript; and all political remarks which the government had found itself interested in addressing to the people had issued from the press in the shape of pamphlets; of which many had been composed during the administration of Burleigh, either by himself or immediately under his direction. But the peculiar

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convenience, at such a juncture, of uniting these two objects in a periodical publication having suggested itself to the ministry, there appeared some time in the month of April, 1588, the first number of *The English Mercury;* a paper resembling the present London Gazette, and which must have come out almost daily; since No. 50., the earliest specimen of the work now extant, is dated July 23d of the same year. This interesting relic is preserved in the British Museum.

In the midst of the public rejoicings an event occurred, which, in whatever manner it might be felt by Elizabeth herself, certainly cast no damp on the spirits of the nation at large,—the death of Leicester.

After the frequent notices of this celebrated favorite contained in the foregoing pages, a formal delineation of his character is unnecessary;— a few traits may however be added.

Speaking of his letters and public papers, Naunton says, "I never yet saw a style or phrase more seeming religious and fuller of the streams of devotion;" and notwithstanding the charge of hypocrisy on this head usually brought against Leicester in the most unqualified terms, many reasons might induce us to believe his religious faith sincere, and his attachment for certain schemes of doctrine zealous. On no other supposition does it appear possible to account for his steady patronage of the puritanical party, — so odious to his mistress, — which on some occasions gave such important advantages over him to his adversary Hatton;—the

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only minister of Elizabeth who appears to have aimed at the character of a high church-of-England man. The circumstance, also, of his devoting during his lifetime a considerable sum of ready money, which he could ill spare, to the endowment of a hospital, has much the air of an act of expiation prompted by religious fears. As a statesman, Leicester appears to have displayed on some occasions considerable acuteness and penetration; but in the higher kind of wisdom he was utterly deficient. His moral insensibility sometimes caused him to offer to his sovereign the most pernicious counsels; and had not the superior rectitude of Burleigh's judgement interposed, his influence might have inflicted still deeper wounds on the honor of the queen and the prosperity of the nation.

Towards his own friends and adherents he is said to have been a religious observer of his promises, a virtue very remarkable in such a man. In the midst of that profusion which rendered him rapacious, he was capable of acts of real generosity; and both soldiers and scholars tasted largely of his bounty. That he was guilty of many detestable acts of oppression, and pursued with secret and unrelenting vengeance such as offended his arrogance by any failure in the servile homage which he made it his glory to exact, are charges proved by undeniable facts; but it has already been observed that the more atrocious of the crimes popularly imputed to him remain, and must ever remain, matters of suspicion rather than proof.

His conduct during the younger part of life was scandalously licentious: latterly he became, says

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Camden, uxorious to excess. In the early days of his favor with the queen, her profuse donations had kept pace with his cupidity, and displayed the fondness of her attachment; but at a later period the stream of her bounty ran low; and she followed the natural bent of her disposition, or complied with the necessity of her affairs, in compelling him to mortgage to her his barony of Denbigh for the expenses of his last expedition to Holland. Immediately after his death she also caused his effects to be sold by auction, for the satisfaction of certain demands of her treasury upon him. From these circumstances it may probably be inferred, that the power which Leicester still retained over her was rather the chain of habit than the tie of affection; and after the first shock of final separation from him whom she had so long loved and trusted, it is not improbable that she might contemplate the event with a feeling somewhat akin to that of deliverance from a yoke under which her haughty spirit had repined without the courage to resist.

Leicester died, beyond all doubt, of a fever; but so reluctant were the prejudices of that age to dismiss any eminent person by the ordinary roads of mortality, that it was judged necessary to examine witnesses before the council respecting certain magical practices said to have been employed against his life. The son of sir James Croft, comptroller of the household, made no scruple to confess, that he had consulted an adept of the name of Smith to learn who were his father's enemies in the council; that Smith mentioned the earl of Leicester; and that a little while after,

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flirting with his thumbs, he exclaimed, alluding to this nobleman's cognisance, "The bear is bound to the stake;" and again, that nothing could now save him. But as it might have been difficult clearly to show in what manner the flirting of a thumb in London could have exerted a fatal power over the life of the earl at Kennelworth, the adept seems to have escaped unpunished, notwithstanding the accidental fulfilment of his denunciations.

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CHAPTER XXII.

1558 TO 1591.

Effects of Leicester's death. — Rise of the queen's affection for Essex. — Trial of the earl of Arundel. — Letter of Walsingham on religious affairs. — Death of Mildmay. — Case of don Antonio. — Expedition to Cadiz. — Behaviour of Essex. — Traits of sir C. Blount. — Sir H. Leigh's resignation. — Conduct of Elizabeth to the king of Scots. — His marriage. — Death and character of sir Francis Walsingham. — Struggle between the earl of Essex and lord Burleigh for the nomination of his successor. — Extracts of letters from Essex to Davison. — Inveteracy of the queen against Davison. — Robert Cecil appointed assistant secretary. — Private marriage of Essex. — Anger of the queen. — Reform effected by the queen in the collection of the revenue. — Speech of Burleigh. — Parsimony of the queen considered. — Anecdotes on this subject. — Lines by Spenser. — Succours afforded by her to the king of France. — Account of sir John Norris. — Essex's campaign in France. — Royal progress. — Entertainment at Coudray — at Elvetham — at Theobald's. — Death and character of sir Christopher Hatton. — Puckering lord-keeper. — Notice of sir John Perrot. — Puttenham's Art of Poetry. — Verses by Gascoigne. — Warner's Albion's England.

THE death of Leicester forms an important æra in the history of the court of Elizabeth, and also in that of her private life and more intimate feelings. The powerful faction of which the favorite had been the head, now acknowledged for its leader the earl of Essex, whom his step-father had brought forward at

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court as a counterpoise to the influence of Raleigh; and who now stood second to none in the good graces of her majesty. But Essex, however gifted with noble and brilliant qualities totally deficient in Leicester, was, on the other hand, confessedly inferior to him in several other endowments still more essential to the leader of a court-party. Though not void of art, he was by no means master of the profound dissimulation, the exquisite address, and especially the wary coolness, by which his predecessor well knew how to accomplish his ends in despite of all opposition. His character was impetuous, his natural disposition frank; and experience had not yet taught him to distrust either himself or others.

With the friendships, Essex received as an inheritance the enmities also of Leicester; and no one at court could ever have entertained the least doubt who it was that he in fact regarded as his principal opponent; but it would have been deemed too high a pitch of presumption in so young a man and so recent a favorite as Essex, to place himself in immediate and open hostility to the long established and far extending influence of Burleigh. With this great minister therefore and his adherents he attempted at first a kind of compromise; and the noted division of the court into the Essex and the Cecil parties does not appear to have taken place till some years after the period of which we are treating. Meantime, the death of Walsingham afforded the lord-treasurer an occasion of introducing to the notice and confidence of her majesty, and eventually to the important office of secretary

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of state, his son Robert; whose eminent talents for affairs, joined to the utmost refinement of intrigue and duplicity, immediately established him in the same independence on the good will of the new favorite, as the elder Cecil had ever asserted on that of the former one; and finally enabled him to prepare in secret that favorite's disastrous fall.

With regard to Elizabeth herself, it has been a thousand times remarked, that she was never able to forget the woman in the sovereign; and in spite of that preponderating love of sway which all her life forbade her to admit a partner of her bed and throne, her heart was to the last deeply sensible of the want, or her imagination of the charm, of loving and being beloved. The death, therefore, of the man who had been for thirty years the object of a tenderness which he had long repaid by every flattering profession, every homage of gallantry, and every manifestation of entire devotedness, left, notwithstanding any late disgusts which she might have entertained, a void in her existence which she felt it necessary to supply. It was no doubt this situation of her feelings, which caused the gradual conversion into a softer sentiment of that natural and innocent tenderness with which she had at first regarded the brilliant and engaging qualities of her youthful kinsman, the earl of Essex; — a change so fatal to them both.

The Spanish armament incidentally became the occasion of involving the earl of Arundel in a charge of a capital nature. Ever since the treachery of his agents, in the year 1585, had baffled

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his design of quitting for ever a country in which his religion and his political attachments had rendered him an alien; this unfortunate nobleman had been kept close prisoner in the Tower. Such treatment might well be supposed calculated to augment the vehemence of his bigotry and the rancor of his disaffection; and it became a current report that on hearing news of the sailing of the armada, he had caused a mass of the Holy Ghost and devotions of twenty-four hours' continuance to be celebrated for its success. This rumor being confirmed by one Bennet, a priest then under examination, and other circumstances of suspicion coming out, the earl, on April the 14th, 1589, was brought to the bar of the house of lords on a charge of high treason. Bennet, struck with compunction, addressed to him a letter acknowledging his testimony to have been false and extorted from him solely by the fear of the rack. But it appears that this letter, still extant among the Burleigh papers, was intercepted by the government; and the prisoner, by this cruel and iniquitous artifice, was deprived of all means of invalidating the testimony of the priest, who was brought into court as a witness against him. By a second violation of every principle of justice, the matters for which, as contempts, he had already undergone the sentence of the Star-chamber, were now introduced into his indictment for high treason, to which the following articles were added; — that he had engaged to assist cardinal Allen in the restoration of popery; — that he had intimated the unfitness of the queen to govern; — that he had caused masses to be said

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for the success of the armada; — that he had attempted to withdraw himself beyond seas for the purpose of serving under the duke of Parma; — and that he had been privy to the bull of Pope Sixtus V., transferring the sovereignty of England from her majesty to the king of Spain.

To all these articles, which he was not allowed to separate, the earl pleaded not guilty; but afterwards, in his defence, confessed some of them, though with certain extenuations. He asserted, that the prayers and masses which he had caused to be said, were for the averting of a general massacre of the English catholics, alleged to be designed; and not for the success of the armada. The aid to the catholic cause which he had promised in his correspondence with cardinal Allen, he declared to refer only to peaceful attempts at making converts; not to the encouragement of any plan of rebellion. He acknowledged a design of going to serve under the prince of Parma, since he was denied the exercise of his religion at home; but he argued his innocence of any view of co-operating in plans of invasion, from the circumstance, that his attempt to leave England had taken place during the year fixed by cardinal Allen and the queen of Scots for the execution of a scheme of this nature.

The crown-lawyers, in order to make out a case of constructive treason, urged the reconcilement of the prisoner with the church of Rome, which they held to be of itself a traitorous act; — his correspondence with declared traitors; — and the high opinion entertained of him by the queen of Scots

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and cardinal Allen, as the chief support of popery in England. They likewise exhibited an emblematical picture found in his house, representing, in one part, a hand shaking off a viper into the fire, with the motto, "If God is for us, who can be against us?" and in another part, a lion, the cognisance of the Howard family, deprived of his claws; under him the words, "Yet still a lion." On these charges, none of which, though proved by the most unexceptionable witnesses, could have brought him within the true meaning of the statute of Edward III., on which he was indicted, the peers were base enough to pronounce a unanimous verdict of Guilty; which he received, as his father had done before him, with the words "God's will be done!" But here the queen felt herself concerned in honor to interpose. It had ever been her maxim and her boast, to punish none capitally for religious delinquencies unconnected with traitorous designs; and sensible, probably, how imperfectly such designs had in this case been proved, she was pleased, in her abundant mercy, to commute the capital part of the sentence against her unhappy kinsman for perpetual imprisonment; attended with the forfeiture of the greater part of his estate.

In 1595, this victim of the religious dissensions of a fierce and bigoted age, ended in his thirty-ninth year an unfortunate life, shortened as well as embittered, by the more than monkish austerities which he imagined it meritorious to inflict upon himself.

From the period of the abortive attempt at insurrection under the earls of Northumberland and

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Westmorland, the whole course of public events had tended to increase the difficulties and aggravate the sufferings in which the catholics of England found themselves inextricably involved. Their situation was thus forcibly depicted by Philip Sidney, in a passage of his celebrated letter to her majesty against the French marriage; which at the present day will probably be read in a spirit very different from that in which it was written.

"The other faction, most rightly indeed to be called a faction, is the papists; men whose spirits are full of anguish; some being infested by others whom they accounted damnable; some having their ambition stopped because they are not in the way of advancement; some in prison and disgrace; some whose best friends are banished practisers; many thinking you an usurper; many thinking also you had disannulled your right because of the pope's excommunication; all burthened with the weight of their consciences. Men of great numbers, of great riches, (because the affairs of state have not lain on them,) of united minds, as all men that deem themselves oppressed naturally are."

A further explanation of their situation may be extracted from an apology for the measures of the English government towards both papists and puritans, addressed by Walsingham to M. Critoy the French secretary of state.

"Sir,

"Whereas you desire to be advertised touching the proceedings here in ecclesiastical causes, be-

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cause you seem to note in them some inconstancy and variation; as if we sometimes inclined to one side, sometimes to another, as if that clemency and lenity were not used of late that was used in the beginning; all which you impute to your own superficial understanding of the affairs of this state, having notwithstanding her majesty's doing in singular reverence, as the real pledges which she hath given unto the world of her sincerity in religion and her wisdom in government well meriteth; I am glad of this occasion to impart that little I know in that matter to you; both for your own satisfaction and to the end you may make use thereof towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded as you are. I find therefore her majesty's proceedings to have been grounded upon two principles.

"1. The one, that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, with the aid of time and use of all good means of instruction and persuasion.

"2. The other, that the causes of conscience, wherein they exceed their bounds and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature; and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish the practice in contempt, though colored under the pretence of conscience and religion.

"According to these principles, her majesty, at her coming to the crown, utterly disliking the tyranny of Rome, which had used by terror and rigor to settle commandments of men's faiths and consciences; though, as a prince of great wisdom and magnanimity, she suffered but the exercise of

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one religion, yet her proceedings towards the papists were with great lenity; expecting the good effects which time might work in them. And therefore her majesty revived not the laws made in the 28 and 35 of her father's reign; whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any subject, though he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath without further circumstance was made treason. But contrariwise her majesty, not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts; except the abundance of them did overflow into overt or express acts or affirmations; tempered her laws so as it restraineth every manifest disobedience in impugning and impeaching advisedly and maliciously her majesty's supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction. And as for the oath, it was altered by her majesty into a more grateful form; the hardness of the name and appellation of supreme head was removed; and the penalty of the refusal thereof turned only into disablement to take any promotion, or to exercise any charge; and yet with liberty of being reinvested therein if any man should accept thereof during his life. But when, after Pius Quintus had excommunicated her majesty and the bills of excommunication were published in London, whereby her majesty was in a sort proscribed; and that thereupon, as a principal motive or preparative, followed the rebellion in the North; yet because the ill humors of the realm were by that rebellion partly purged; and that she feared at that time

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no foreign invasion and much less the attempt of any within the realm not backed by some potent succour from without; she contented herself to make a law against that special case of bringing and publishing any bulls, or the like instruments; whereunto was added a prohibition, upon pain, not of treason, but of an inferior degree of punishment, against the bringing in of *agnus Dei*, hallowed bread and such other merchandise of Rome as are well known not to be any essential part of the Romish religion; but only to be used in practice as love-tokens to inchant the people's affections from their allegiance to their natural sovereign. In all other points her majesty continued her former lenity: but when, about the twentieth year of her reign, she had discovered in the king of Spain an intention to invade her dominions; and that a principal part of the plot was, to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to the foreigner; and after that the seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily priests and professed men, who should by vow taken at shrift reconcile her subjects from their obedience; yea, and bind many of them to attempt against her majesty's sacred person; and that, by the poison which they spread, the humors of papists were altered; and that they were no more papists in conscience and of softness, but papists in faction; then were there new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements, or renunciations of obedience. And because it was a treason carried in the clouds and in wonderful secresy, and came

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seldom to light; and that there was no presupposition thereof so great, as the recusants to come to divine service, because it was set down by their decrees, that to come to church before reconcilement was absolutely heretical and damnable: Therefore there were laws added containing punishment pecuniary against such recusants, not to enforce conscience, but to enfeeble and impoverish the means of those of whom it resteth, indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. And when, notwithstanding all this provision, this poison was dispersed so secretly, as that there were no means to stay it but by restraining the merchants that brought it in; then, lastly, there was added another law, whereby such seditious priests of new erection were exiled; and those that were at that time within the land shipped over; and so commanded to keep hence on pain of treason.

"This hath been the proceeding, though intermingled not only with sundry examples of her majesty's grace towards such as she knew to be papists in conscience and not in faction and singularity, but also with an ordinary mitigation towards offenders in the highest degree committed by law, if they would but protest, that in case the realm should be invaded with a foreign army by the Pope's authority, for the catholic cause, as they term it, they would take part with her majesty and not adhere to her enemies."

The country sustained a heavy loss in 1589 by the death of sir Walter Mildmay chancellor of the exchequer; one of the most irreproachable public

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characters and best patriots of the age. He was old enough to have received his introduction to business in the time of Henry VIII., under whom he enjoyed a gainful office in the court of augmentations. During the reign of Edward he was warden of the mint. Under Mary, he shrouded himself in that profound obscurity in which alone he could make safety accord with honor and conscience. Elizabeth, on the death of sir Richard Sackville in 1568, advanced Mildmay to the important post of chancellor of the exchequer, which he held to the end of his life: but not so, it should appear, the favor of her majesty, some of his *back friends*, or secret enemies, having whispered in her ear, that he was a better patriot than subject, and *over-popular* in parliament, where he had gone so far as to complain that many subsidies were granted and few grievances redressed. Another strong ground of royal displeasure was the imputation of puritanism under which he labored.

Generously sacrificing to higher considerations the aggrandizement of his children, Mildmay devoted a large share of the wealth which he had gained in the public service to the erection and endowment of a college; — that of Emanuel at Cambridge; — an action little agreeable it seems to her majesty; for, on his coming to court after the completion of this noble undertaking, she said tartly to him; "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a puritan foundation." — "No, madam," replied he, "far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your established laws; but I have set an acorn, which, when it comes to be an oak, God

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alone knows what will be the fruit of it." That this fruit however proved to be of the flavor so much distasted by her majesty, there is good evidence.

> " In the house of pure Emanuel
> I had my education,
> Where some surmise I dazzled my eyes
> With the light of revelation;"

says " the Distracted Puritan," in a song composed in king James's days by the witty bishop Corbet.

Mildmay was succeeded in his office by sir John Fortescue, master of the wardrobe, a gentleman whose accomplishments in classical literature had induced the queen to take him for her guide and assistant in the study of the Greek and Latin writers. In the discharge of his new functions he also was distinguished by moderation and integrity; so that in this important department of administration no oppression was exercised upon the subject during the whole of the reign; — a circumstance highly conducive both to the popularity of the queen and to the alacrity in granting supplies usually exhibited by her parliaments.

The late attempt at invasion, so gloriously and happily frustrated, had given a new impulse to the public mind; the gallant youth of the country were seized with an universal rage for military enterprise; and burned at once for vengeance and renown. The riches and the weakness of the Spanish empire, both of them considerably exaggerated in popular opinion, tempted the hopes and the cupidity

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of adventurers of a different class; and by means of the united stimulus of gain and glory, a numerous fleet was fitted out in the spring of 1589 for an expedition to Portugal; which was equipped and manned almost entirely by the exertions of individuals, the queen contributing only sixty-six thousand pounds to the expenses, and six of her ships to the armament.

It will be remembered, that on the death in 1580 of Henry king of Portugal, Philip of Spain had possessed himself of that kingdom as rightful heir; having compelled don Antonio, an illegitimate nephew of the deceased sovereign who had ventured to dispute the succession, to quit the country and take refuge first in France and afterwards in England.

This pretender had hitherto received little support or encouragement at the hands of Elizabeth; in fact, she had suffered him to languish in the most abject poverty; for there is a letter extant from a person about him to lord Burleigh [a], entreating that he would move her majesty either to advance don Antonio two hundred thousand crowns out of her share of the rich Portuguese carrack captured by sir Francis Drake, to enable him to recover his kingdom; — or at least to take upon herself the payment of his debts, amounting to twelve or thirteen pounds, without which his poor creditors were likely to be ruined. The first part of this extraordinary alternative the prudent

[a] *Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 450.

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princess certainly declined; what might be the fate of the second does not in this place appear: but we learn elsewhere, that during the long vacancy of the see of Ely, which the queen suffered to subsist after the death of bishop Cox in 1581, a part of its revenues was appropriated to the maintenance of this unfortunate competitor for royalty. It was imagined, however, by the projectors of the present expedition, that the discontent of the Portuguese under the yoke of Spain would now incline them to receive as a deliverer even this spurious representative of their ancient race of monarchs; and don Antonio received an invitation, which he joyfully embraced, to embark himself and his fortunes on board the English fleet.

The armament consisted of 180 vessels of all kinds, carrying 21,000 men: it set sail from Plymouth on April 18th; sir Francis Drake being admiral and sir John Norris general. The earl of Essex, urged by the romantic gallantry of his disposition, afterwards joined the expedition with several ships fitted out at his own expense in support of don Antonio's title; though he bore no regular command, since he sailed without the consent or privity of her majesty. The first landing of the forces was at Corunna; where, having captured four ships of war in the harbour, they took and burned the lower town and made some bold attempts on the upper, which was strongly fortified: but after defeating with great slaughter a body of Spaniards who were intrenched in the neighbourhood, sir John Norris, finding it impracticable to renew his assaults on the upper town

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on account of a general want of powder in the fleet, re-embarked his men, already suffering from sickness, and made sail for Portugal.

After some consultation they landed at Penicha, about thirty miles to the north of Lisbon, and took the castle; and having thrown into it a garrison, every man of which was afterwards put to the sword by the Spaniards, they began their march for the capital. So ill was the army provided, that many died on the road for want of food; and others who had fainted with the heat must also have perished, had not Essex, with characteristic generosity, caused all his baggage to be thrown out, and the carriages filled with the sick and weary. Instead of the troops of nobility and gentry by whom don Antonio had flattered himself and his companions that he should be joined and recognised, there only appeared upon their march a band of miserable peasants without shoes or stockings, and one gentleman who presented him with a basket of plums and cherries. The English, however, proceeded, and made themselves masters without difficulty of the suburbs of Lisbon, in which they found great riches; but the entreaties of don Antonio, and his anxiety to preserve the good will of the people, caused the general to restrain his men from plunder. Essex distinguished himself in every skirmish; and, knocking at the gates of Lisbon itself, challenged the governor, or any other of equal rank to single combat: but this romantic proposal was prudently declined; and though the city was known to be weakly guarded, the total want of battering cannon in the English army precluded the general from making an assault.

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In the mean time Drake, who was to have co-operated with the land-forces by an attack upon the city from the water-side, found his progress effectually barred by the forts at the mouth of the Tagus; and was thus compelled to relinquish all share in the enterprise. This disappointment, joined to the want of ammunition and other necessaries, and the rapid progress of sickness among the men, compelled the invaders to a speedy retreat and re-embarkation. About sixty vessels lying at the mouth of the Tagus, laden with corn and other articles of commerce, were seized by the English, though the property of the Hanse Towns; and Drake and Norris in their return burned Vigo; but various disasters overtook the fleet on its homeward voyage, subsequently to its dispersion by a violent storm. On the whole it was computed that not less than eleven thousand persons perished in this unfortunate and ill-planned expedition, by which no one important object had been attained; and that of eleven hundred gentlemen who accompanied it, not more than three hundred and fifty escaped the united ravages of famine, sickness, and the sword.

The queen, on discovering that Essex had without permission absented himself from her court and from the duties of his office of master of the horse, to embark in the voyage to Portugal, had instantly dispatched a peremptory order for his return; enforced by menaces of her utmost indignation in case of disobedience; but even to this pressing mandate he had dared to turn a deaf ear. During the four or five months therefore of his absence, the whole court had remained in fearful

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or exulting anticipation of the thunderbolt about to fall on his devoted head. But the laurels with which he had encircled his brows proved his safeguard: Elizabeth had listened with a secret complacency to the reports of his valor and generosity which reached her through various channels: her tenderness had been strongly excited by the image of the perils to which he was daily exposing himself; and her joy at his safe return, too genuine and lively for concealment, left her so little of the power or the wish to chide, that his pardon seemed granted even before it could be implored. Essex had too much sensibility not to be deeply touched by this affectionate behaviour on the part of his sovereign; he redoubled his efforts to deserve the oblivion of his past offence; and with a success so striking, that it was soon evident to all, that the temerity which would have ruined another, had but heightened and confirmed his favor.

Essex possessed, as much as Leicester himself, the art of urging Elizabeth to acts of munificence in his own behalf: and she soon consoled him by some valuable grants for any anxiety which her threatened indignation might have occasioned him, or any disappointment which he might have conceived on seeing sir Christopher Hatton preferred by her to himself as Leicester's successor in the office of chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

Among the gallant adventures in the cause of don Antonio, sir Walter Raleigh had made one; and he also was received by her majesty on his

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return with tokens of distinguished favor. But not long after, he embarked for Ireland, in which country he remained without public employment till the spring of 1592; when he undertook an expedition against the Spanish settlements in South America.

The ostensible purpose of his visit to Ireland was to superintend the management of those large estates which had been granted him in that country; but it was the story of the day, that "the earl of Essex had chased Raleigh from court and confined him into Ireland[a]:" and the length of his absence, with the known enmity between these rival-favorites, lends some countenance to the suggestion.

That Essex, even in the early days of his favor, already assumed the right of treating as interlopers such as advanced too rapidly in the good graces of his sovereign, we learn from an incident which probably occurred about this time; and is thus related by Naunton. "My lord Montjoy being but newly come to court and then but sir Charles Blount, had the good fortune one day to run very well a-tilt; and the queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him a token of her favor, a queen at chess of gold, richly enamelled; which his servants had the next day fastened on his arm with a crimson ribbon; which my lord of Essex, as he passed through the privy chamber, espying, with his cloak cast under his arm, the better to commend it to the view; inquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed.

[a] *Birch's Memoirs.*

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Sir Fulk Greville told him that it was the queen's favor, which the day before, and after the tilting, she had sent him: whereat my lord of Essex, in a kind of emulation and as though he would have limited her favor, said, 'Now I perceive every fool must have a favor.'

"This bitter and public affront came to sir Charles Blount's ear, who sent him a challenge, which was accepted by my lord; and they went near Mary-bone-park, where my lord was hurt in the thigh and disarmed: the queen, missing the men, was very curious to learn the truth; and when at last it was whispered out, she swore by God's death it was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him."[a]

Notwithstanding her majesty's ostentation of displeasure against her favorite on this occasion, it is pretty certain that he could not better have paid his court to her than by a duel, of which, in spite of her wisdom and her age, she seems to have had the weakness to imagine her personal charms to have been the cause. She compelled however the rivals to be reconciled: from this period all the externals of friendship were preserved between them; and there is even reason to believe, notwithstanding some insinuations to the contrary, that, latterly at least, the sentiment became a genuine one. If the queen had further insisted on cementing their reconciliation by an

[a] *Fragmenta Regalia.*

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alliance, she would have preserved from its only considerable blot the brilliant reputation of sir Charles Blount. This courtier had early conceived an ardent passion for a sister of the earl of Essex, the same who was once destined to be the bride of Philip Sidney. She returned his attachment; but her friends, judging the match inferior to her just pretensions, broke off the affair and compelled her to give her hand to lord Rich; a man of disagreeable character, who was the object of her aversion. In such a marriage the unfortunate lady found it impossible to forget the lover from whom tyrannical authority had severed her; and some years after, when Montjoy returned victorious from the Irish wars, she suffered herself to be seduced by him into a criminal connexion, which was detected, after it had subsisted for several years; and occasioned her divorce from Lord Rich. Her lover, now earl of Devonshire, regarded himself as bound in love and in honor to make her his wife; but the marriage of a divorced woman in the lifetime of her husband was at this time regarded as not only scandalous but unlawful, and Laud, then chaplain to the earl who joined their hands, incurred such severe blame, that he thought it necessary to observe the anniversary ever after as a day of humiliation. By the earl himself also the disgrace of the business was severely felt; and it embittered, and some say abridged, the days of this otherwise admirable person. Whether any incidents connected with this attachment had a share in producing that hostile state of feeling in the mind of Essex to-

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wards Blount which led to their combat, remains matter of conjecture.

This year the customary festivities on the anniversary of her majesty's accession were attended by one of those romantic ceremonies which mark so well the taste of the age and of Elizabeth. This was no other than the formal resignation by that veteran of the tilt-yard, sir Henry Leigh, of the office of queen's champion; so long his glory and delight. The gallant earl of Cumberland was his destined successor, and the momentous transfer was accomplished after the following fashion.

Having first performed their respective parts in the chivalrous exercises of the band of knights-tilters, sir Henry and the earl presented themselves to her majesty at the foot of the gallery where she was seated, surrounded by her ladies and nobles. They advanced to slow music; and a concealed performer accompanied the strain with the following song: —

My golden locks time hath to silver turn'd,
(Oh time too swift, and swiftness never ceasing,)
My youth 'gainst age, and age at youth hath spurn'd:
But spurn'd in vain, youth waneth by increasing;
Beauty, strength, and youth, flowers fading been;
Duty, faith, and love, are roots and evergreen.

My helmet now shall make a hive for bees,
And lovers' songs shall turn to holy psalms;
A man at arms must now sit on his knees,
And feed on pray'rs that are old age's alms.
And so from court to cottage I depart;
My saint is sure of mine unspotted heart.

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And when I sadly sit in homely cell,
I'll teach my swains this carol for a song:
"Blest be the hearts that think my sovereign well,
Curs'd be the souls that think to do her wrong."
Goddess! vouchsafe this aged man his right,
To be your beadsman now, that was your knight.

During this performance, there arose out of the earth a pavilion of white taffeta, supported on pillars resembling porphyry, and formed to imitate the temple of the Vestal virgins. A superb altar was placed within it, on which were laid some rich gifts for her majesty. Before the gate stood a crowned pillar embraced by an eglantine; to which a votive tablet was attached, inscribed "To Eliza." The gifts and the tablet being with great reverence delivered to the queen, and the aged knight in the meantime disarmed, he offered up his armour at the foot of the pillar; then kneeling, presented the earl of Cumberland to her majesty, praying her to be pleased to accept of him for her knight, and to continue these annual exercises. The proposal being graciously accepted, sir Henry armed the earl and mounted him on his horse: this done, he clothed himself in a long velvet gown, and covered his head, in lieu of a helmet, with "a buttoned cap of the country fashion."[a]

The king of Scots had now for a considerable time deserved extremely well of Elizabeth. During the whole period of the Spanish armament he had remained unshaken in his attachment to her

[a] *Nichols's Progresses.*

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cause, resolutely turning a deaf ear to the flattering offers of Philip II. with the shrewd remark, — that all the favor he had to expect from this monarch, in case of his success against England, was that of Polypheme to Ulysses; — to be devoured the last: a bon mot which was carefully copied into *The English Mercury.* The English ambassador to Scotland, from an unfounded opinion that the discomfited armada sought shelter in the ports of that country under the faith of some secret engagement with James, had thought it necessary to bribe him to fidelity by some brilliant promises, of which, when the danger was past, Elizabeth unhandsomely evaded the fulfilment; but even on this occasion he abstained from any vehement expressions of indignation: in short, his whole demeanor towards his lofty kinswoman was that of a submissive expectant much more than of a competitor and rival prince. True it is, that he had begun to attach to himself among her nobles and courtiers as many adherents as his means permitted; but, besides that his manœuvres remained for the most part concealed from her knowledge, they apparently carried with them no danger to her government. The partisans of James were not, in general, like those of his mother, the adherents of a religious faction leagued with the foreign powers most hostile to her rule, and from whose machinations she was exposed to daily peril of her throne and life. They were protestants and Englishmen; and many of them possessed of such strong hereditary influence or official rank, that it could never become their interest to throw the

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country into confusion by ill-timed efforts in favor of the king of Scots; whose cause they embraced with no other view than to secure the state from commotion and themselves from the loss of power on the event of the queen's death. The puritan party indeed, by whom, after this period, several attempts were made in parliament to extort from the queen a settlement of the crown in James's favor, were doubtless actuated in part by discontent with the English church-establishment and the hope of seeing it superseded under James by a presbyterian form resembling that of Scotland. For the present, however, these religionists were sufficiently repressed under the iron rod of the High-commission court; and James had entered into no regular correspondence with them; and engaged their attachment by no promises of future indulgence or support.

On these accounts, the violent jealousy with which Elizabeth continued to regard this feeble and inoffensive young king, in every point so greatly her inferior, must rather be imputed to her malignity of temper than to any dictates of sound policy or advisable precaution; and the measures with which it prompted her were impressed accordingly with every character of spite and meanness. She was peculiarly solicitous to prevent James from increasing his consequence by marriage; and through innumerable intrigues with his ministers and favorites she had hitherto succeeded in her object. When he appeared to have set his mind on a union with the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, she contrived

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to interpose so many delays and obstacles, that this sovereign, conceiving himself trifled with, ended the affair by giving the princess in marriage to another. To embarrass matters still more, she next proposed to James a match with the sister of the king of Navarre; a princess much older than himself, destitute of fortune, and whose brother might be influenced to protract the negotiation to any length convenient to his valuable ally the queen of England. This proposal being declined by James and overtures made in his name to a younger daughter of the Danish house, she again set her engines at work to thwart his wishes; but indignation for once lent to James resolution sufficient to carry his point. Disregarding a declaration of his privy council against the match, he instigated the citizens of Edinburgh to take up arms in his cause; and finally accomplished the sending out of a showy embassy, by which the marriage-articles were speedily settled and the princess conducted on board the fleet which was to convey her to Scotland. A violent storm having driven her for shelter into a port of Norway, the young monarch set sail in quest of her; and reconducting her, at the desire of the king her father, to Copenhagen, he there passed the winter in great joy and festivity; and as soon as the season would permit, conducted his royal consort home in triumph, and caused her to be crowned with all the magnificence that Scotland could display. Seeing the turn which matters had taken, Elizabeth now made a virtue of necessity; and dispatched a solemn embassy to express to her

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good brother of Scotland her hearty congratulations on his nuptials, and her satisfaction in his happy return from so adventurous a voyage.

In April, 1590, died sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of state; whose name is found in such intimate connexion with the domestic policy of Elizabeth during several eventful years, that his character may be regarded as in a manner identified with that of the measures at this period pursued.

This eminent person, in his youth an exile for the protestant cause, retained through life so serious a sense of religion as sometimes to expose him to the suspicion of puritanism. In his private capacity he was benevolent, friendly, and accounted a man of strict integrity: but it is right that public characters should principally be estimated by that part of their conduct in which the public is concerned; and to Walsingham as a minister the unsullied reputation of virtue and honor is not to be conceded. Unlike that pure and noble patriot who "would have lost his life with pleasure to serve his country, but would not have done a base thing to save it," this statesman seems to have held that few base things were to be scrupled by which his queen and country might be served.

That Walsingham was of unimpeached fidelity towards his sovereign requires no proof; that he was not stimulated by views of private emolument seems also to be satisfactorily evinced, though somewhat to the discredit of his mistress, by the load of debt, incurred in his official capacity,

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under the pressure of which he lived and died: but here our praise of his public virtue must end. It is impossible to regard without indignation and disgust the system of artifice and intrigue which he contrived for the purpose of ensnaring the catholics; and while due credit is given to his unwearied diligence and remarkable sagacity in detecting dangerous conspiracies, it cannot be doubted that the extraordinary encouragements held out by him to spies and informers, — those pests of a commonwealth, — must in numberless instances have rendered himself the dupe, and innocent persons the victims, of designing villany. Looking even to the immediate results of his measures, it may triumphantly be demanded by the philanthropist and the sage, whether a system less artificial, less treacherous, and less cruel, would not equally well have succeeded in protecting the person of the queen from the machinations of traitors; with the further and inestimable advantage of preserving her government from reproach and the national character from degradation.

That the system of Walsingham was in the main that also of his court and of his age, is indeed true; and this consideration might in some degree plead his excuse, did it not appear that there was in his personal character a native subtilty and talent for insinuation which, aptly conspiring with the nature of his office, might truly be said to render his duty his delight: — a feature of his mind which is thus happily delineated by a witty and ingenious writer.

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"None alive did better ken the secretary's craft, to get counsels out of others and keep them in himself. Marvellous his sagacity in examining suspected persons, either to make them confess the truth, or confound themselves by denying it to their detection. Cunning his hands, who could unpick the cabinets in the pope's conclave; quick his ears, who could hear at London what was whispered at Rome; and numerous the spies and eyes of this Argus dispersed in all places.

"The Jesuits, being outshot in their own bow, complained that he out-equivocated their equivocation, having a mental reservation deeper and further than theirs. They tax him for making heaven bow too much to earth; oft-times borrowing a point of conscience with full intent never to pay it again; whom others excused by reasons of state and dangers of the times. Indeed his simulation (which all allow lawful) was as like to dissimulation (condemned by all good men) as two things could be which were not the same. He thought that gold might, but intelligence could not, be bought too dear; — the cause that so great a *statesman* left so small an *estate*, and so *public* a person was so *privately* buried in St. Paul's."[a]

The long state of infirmity which preceded the death of Walsingham had afforded abundant opportunity for various intrigues and negotiations respecting the appointment of his successor in office. Burleigh hoped to make the choice of her majesty

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[a] *Fuller's Worthies in Kent.*

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fall on his son Robert; Essex was anxious to decide it in favor of the discarded Davison, who seems to have been performing some part of the functions of a secretary of state during the illness of Walsingham, though he did not venture to appear in the sight of his still-offended mistress. No one was more susceptible of generous emotions than Essex; and it ought not to be doubted that much of the extraordinary zeal which he manifested, during two or three entire years, in the cause of this unfortunate and ill-treated man, is to be ascribed to true friendship: but neither must it be concealed that this struggle for the nomination of a secretary was in effect the great and decisive trial of strength between himself and the Cecils. Several letters have been printed, written by Essex to Davison and bearing date between the years 1587 and 1590; from which a few extracts may be worth transcribing; both for the excellence of the style and the light which they reflect on the behaviour and sentiments of Elizabeth in this matter. "I had speech with her majesty yesternight after my departure from you; and I did find that the success of my speech (although I hoped for good) yet did much overrun my expectation .... I made her majesty see what, in your health, in your fortune, in your reputation in the world, you had suffered since the time that it was her pleasure to commit you; I told her how many friends and well-wishers the world did afford you; and how, for the most part, throughout the whole realm her best subjects did wish that she would do herself the honor to repair for you and restore

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to you that state which she had overthrown; your humble suffering of these harms and reverend regard to her majesty, must needs move a princess so noble and so just, to do you right; and more I had said, if my gift of speech had been any way comparable to my love. Her majesty, seeing her judgement opened by the story of her own actions, showed a very feeling compassion of you: she gave you many praises; and among the rest, that she seemed to please herself in, was, that you were a man of her own choice. In truth she was so well pleased with those things that she spake and heard of you, that I dare (if of things future there be any assurance) promise to myself that your peace will be made to your content and the desire of your friends; I mean in her favor and your own fortune; to a better estate than, or at least the same you had; which with all my power I will employ myself to effect."

That these sanguine hopes were soon checked, appears by the following passage of a subsequent letter: "I have, as I could, taken my opportunity since I saw you to perform as much as I promised you; and though in all I have been able to effect nothing, yet even now I have had better leisure to solicit the queen than in this stormy time I did hope for. My beginning was, as being amongst others entreated to move her in your behalf; my course was, to lay open your sufferings and your patience; in them you had felt poverty, restraint, and disgrace; and yet you showed nothing but faith and humility; faith, as being never wearied nor discouraged to do her service; hum-

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bleness, as content to forget all the burdens that had been laid upon you, and to serve her majesty with as frank and willing a heart as they that have received greatest grace from her. To this I received no answer but in general terms; that her honor was much touched; your presumption had been intolerable; and that she could not let it slip out of her mind. When I urged your access she denied it; but so as I had no cause to be afraid to speak again. When I offered in them both to reply, she fell into other discourse, and so we parted."

On the death of Walsingham he writes thus .... "Upon this unhappy accident I have tried to the bottom what the queen will do for you; and what the credit of your solicitor is worth. I urged not the comparison between you and any other, but in my duty to her and zeal to her service I did assure her, that she had not any other in England that would for these three or four years know how to settle himself to support so great a burden. She gave me leave to speak; heard me with patience; confessed with me that none was so sufficient; and would not deny but that which she lays to your charge was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any respects of your own, but merely for her safety both of state and person. In the end she absolutely denied to let you have that place, and willed me to rest satisfied, for she was resolved. Thus much I write to let you know, I am more honest to my friends than happy in their cases."

As the fear of giving offence to the king of

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Scots was one reason or pretext for the implacability of the queen towards Davison, Essex hazarded the step of writing to request, as a personal favor to himself, the forgiveness and good offices of this monarch in behalf of the man who bore the blame of his mother's death. Nothing could be more dexterous than the turn of this letter; but what reception it found we do not discover. On the whole, all his efforts were unavailing: the longer Elizabeth reflected on the matter, the less she felt herself able to forgive the *presumption* of the rash man who had anticipated her final resolution on the fate of Mary. Other considerations probably concurred; as, the apprehension, which seems to have been of perpetual recurrence to her mind, of rendering her young favorite too confident and presuming by an uniform course of success in his applications to her; the habitual ascendancy of Burleigh; and, probably, some distrust of the capacity of Davison for so difficult and important a post.

In conclusion, no principal secretary was at present appointed; but Robert Cecil was admitted as an assistant to his father, who resumed on this condition the duties of the office, and held it, as it were in trust, till her majesty, six years afterwards, was pleased to sanction his resignation in favor of his son, now fully established in her confidence and good opinion. Of Davison nothing further is known; probably he did not long survive.

Some time in the year 1590, the earl of Essex married in a private manner the widow of sir Philip Sidney and daughter of Walsingham; a

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step with which her majesty did not scruple to show herself highly offended. The inferiority of the connexion in the two articles of birth and fortune, and the circumstance that the union had been formed without that previous consultation of her pleasure, which, from her high nobility and favorite courtiers, — and especially from those who, like Essex and his lady, shared the honor of her relationship, — she expected as a homage and almost claimed as a right, were the ostensible grounds of her displeasure. But that peculiar compound of ungenerous feelings which rendered her the universal foe of matrimony, exalted on this occasion by a jealousy too humiliating to be owned, but too powerful to be repressed, formed without doubt the more genuine sources of her deep chagrin. The courtiers quickly penetrated the secret of her heart; — for what vice, what weakness, can long lurk unsuspected in a royal bosom? and it is thus that John Stanhope, one of her attendants, ventures to write on the subject to lord Talbot.

"This night, God willing, she will to Richmond; and on Saturday next to Somerset-house; and if she could overcome her passion against my lord of Essex for his marriage, no doubt she would be much quieter; yet doth she use it more temperately than was thought for, and, God be thanked, doth not strike all that she threats.[a] The earl doth use it with good temper, concealing his marriage

[a] It seems dubious whether this expression is to be understood literally or metaphorically.

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as much as so open a matter may be: not that he denies it to any; but for her majesty's better satisfaction, is pleased that my lady shall live very retired in her mother's house."[a]

On the whole, the indignation of the queen against Essex stopped very short of the rage with which she had been transported against Leicester on a similar occasion; she never even talked of sending him to prison for his marriage. Her good sense came to her assistance, somewhat indeed too late for her own dignity, but soon enough to intercept any serious mischief to the earl; and having found leisure to reflect on the folly and disgrace of openly maintaining an ineffectual resentment, she soon after re-admitted the offender to the same station of seeming favor as before. There appears, however, some ground to suspect, that the queen never entirely dismissed her feelings of mortification; or again reposed in Essex the same unbounded confidence with which she had once honored him. From a passage of a letter addressed by lord Buckhurst to sir Robert Sidney, then governor of the Brill, we learn, that even in the autumn of the next year she still retained such displeasure against sir Robert, for having been present at a banquet given by Essex, either on occasion of his marriage, or with a view to the furtherance of some design of his which excited her suspicion, that she could not be induced to grant him leave of absence for a visit to England.

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[a] *Illustrations by Lodge.*

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But cares and occupations of a nature peculiarly uncongenial with the indulgence of sentimental sorrows now claimed, and not in vain, the serious thoughts of this prudent and vigilant princess. The low state of her finances, exhausted by no wasteful prodigalities, but by the necessary measures of national defence and the politic aid which she had extended to the United Provinces and to the French Hugonots, threatened to place her in a painful dilemma. She must either desert her allies and suffer her navy to relapse into the dangerous state of weakness from which she had exerted all her efforts to raise it, or summon a new parliament for the purpose of making fresh demands upon the purses of her people: And this at the risk either of shaking their attachment, or, — a humiliation not to be endured, — seeing herself compelled to sacrifice to the importunities of the popular members some of the more oppressive branches of her prerogative; the right of purveyance, for instance, or that of granting monopolies; both of which she had suffered to grow into enormous grievances. Mature consideration discovered to her, however, a third expedient; that of practising a still stricter economy on one hand, and on the other, increasing the productiveness of the customs and other branches of revenue to her exchequer, by reforming abuses, detecting frauds and embezzlements, and cutting off the exorbitant profits of collectors.

This last plan, which best accorded with her disposition, was that adopted by Elizabeth. It may be mentioned as a characteristic trait, that a few

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years before, she had accepted with thanks an offer secretly made to herself by some person holding an inferior station in the customs, of a full disclosure of the impositions practised upon her in that department. She had admitted this voluntary informer several times to her presence; had imposed silence in the tone of a mistress on the remonstrances of Leicester, Burleigh, and Walsingham, who indignantly urged that he was not of a rank to be thus countenanced in accusation of his superiors; and had reaped the reward of this judicious patronage, by finding herself entitled to demand from her farmer of the customs an annual rent of forty-two thousand pounds, instead of the twelve thousand pounds which he had formerly paid. She now exacted from him a further advance of eight thousand pounds per annum; and stimulated Burleigh to such a rigid superintendence of all the details of public economy as produced a very important general result. It was probably in the ensuing parliament that, a conference being held between the two houses respecting a bill for making the patrimonial estates of accountants liable for their arrears to the queen, and the commons desiring that it might not be retrospective, the lord treasurer pithily said, "My lords, if you had lost your purse by the way, would you look back or forwards to find it? The queen hath lost her purse."

This rigid parsimony, at once the virtue and the foible of Elizabeth, was attended accordingly with its good and its evil. It endeared her to the people, whom it protected from the imposition of new and

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oppressive taxes; but, being united in the complex character of this remarkable woman with an extraordinary taste for magnificence in all that related to her personal appearance, it betrayed her into a thousand meannesses, which, in spite of all the arts of graciousness in which she was an adept, served to alienate the affections of such as more nearly approached her. Her nobles found themselves heavily burthened by the long and frequent visits which she paid them at their country-seats, attended always by an enormous retinue; as well as by the contributions to her jewelry and wardrobe which custom required of them under the name of new year's gifts, and on all occasions when they had favors, or even justice, to ask at her hands.[a] There were few of the inferior suitors and court-attendants composing the crowd by which she had a vanity in seeing herself constantly surrounded, who did not find cause bitterly to rue the day when first her hollow smiles and flattering speeches seduced them to long years of irksome, expensive, and often profitless assiduity.

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[a] Lists of the New Year's Gifts received by Elizabeth during many years have more than once appeared in print. They show that not only jewels, trinkets, rich robes, and every ornamental article of dress, were abundantly supplied from this source; but that sets of body linen, worked with black silk round the bosom and sleeves, were regarded as no inappropriate offering from peers of the realm to the maiden-queen. The presents of the bishops and of privy councillors always consisted of gold pieces, to the value of from five to twenty or thirty pounds, contained in embroidered silk purses. Her majesty distributed at the same season pieces of gilt plate; but not always to the same persons from whom she had received presents, nor, apparently, to an equal amount.

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Bacon in his Apophthegms relates on this subject the following anecdote: "Queen Elizabeth, seeing sir Edward —— in her garden, looked out at her window and asked him, in Italian, 'What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?' Sir Edward, who had not had the effect of some of the queen's grants so soon as he had hoped and desired, paused a little and then made answer; 'Madam, he thinks of a woman's promise.' The queen shrunk in her head, but was heard to say; 'Well, sir Edward, I must not confute you: anger makes dull men witty, but it keeps them poor.'"

"Queen Elizabeth," says the same author, "was dilatory enough in suits of her own nature; and the lord treasurer Burleigh, being a wise man, and willing therein to feed her humour, would say to her, 'Madam, you do well to let suitors stay: for I shall tell you, *Bis dat qui cito dat;* if you grant them speedily, they will come again the sooner.'"

It is probable that the popular story of this minister's intercepting the very moderate bounty, 100*l.*, which her majesty had proposed to herself the honor of bestowing on Spenser, is untrue with respect to this great poet; since the four lines relating to the circumstance,

"Madam,

You bid your treasurer on a time
To give me reason for my rime,
But from that time and that season
I have had nor rime nor reason,"

long attributed to Spenser, are now known to be

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Churchyard's. Yet that the author of the *Faery Queen* had similar injuries to endure, is but too certain; and even her zealous and affectionate instructor and eulogist, Ascham, was suffered by her to languish under embarrassed circumstances, though on hearing of his death she was pleased to say, that she had rather have lost ten thousand pounds than her tutor Ascham.

One of the most laudable objects of the parsimony exercised by Elizabeth at this period was that of enabling herself to afford effectual aid to Henry IV. of France; now struggling, with adverse fortune but invincible resolution, to conquer from the united armies of Spain and the League the throne which was his birth-right. In the depth of his distress, just when his Swiss and German auxiliaries were on the point of disbanding themselves for want of pay, the friendship of Elizabeth came in aid of his necessities with a supply of twenty-two thousand pounds; a sum, trifling as it may seem in modern estimation, which sufficed to rescue Henry from his immediate embarrassment; and which he frankly avowed to be the largest he had ever seen. The generosity of his ally did not stop here; for she speedily equipped a body of four thousand men and sent them to join him at Dieppe, under command of the gallant lord Willoughby. By this reinforcement Henry was enabled to march to Paris and possess himself of its suburbs, and subsequently to engage in several other enterprises, in which he gratefully acknowledged the eminent service rendered him by the valor and fidelity of this band of English.

The next year Elizabeth, alarmed at seeing

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several of the ports of Bretagne opposite to her own shores garrisoned by Spanish troops, whom the Leaguers had called in to their assistance, readily entered into a new treaty with Henry, by virtue of which she sent a fresh supply of three thousand men to assist him in the recovery of this province. Her expenses, however, were to be repaid by the king after the expulsion of the enemy.

Sir John Norris, the appointed leader of this force, ranked among the most eminent of Elizabeth's captains; and was also possessed of some hereditary claims to her regard, which she did not fail to acknowledge as far as the jealousy of her favorites would give her leave. One of sir John's grandfathers was that Norris who suffered in the cause of Anne Boleyn; the other was lord Williams of Tame, to whom she had herself been indebted for so much respectful attention in the days of her greatest adversity. She had called up his father to the house of peers as lord Norris of Ricot; and his mother she constantly addressed by a singular term of endearment, "My own Crow."* This pair had six sons, of whom sir John was the eldest; —all, it is said, brave men, addicted to arms, and much respected by her majesty. But an unfortunate quarrel with the four sons of sir Francis Knolles, their Oxfordshire neighbour, arising out of a tournament in which the two brotherhoods were opposed to each other, procured to the

* Probably derived from the crest of the Norris family; a raven.

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Norrises the lasting enmity of this family, which, strong both by its relationship to the queen and its close alliance with Leicester, was able to impede their advancement to stations equal to their merits.

Sir John Norris had learned the rudiments of military science under the celebrated admiral Coligni, to whom in his early youth he acted as a page; and he enlarged his experience as captain of the English volunteers who in 1578 generously carried the assistance of their swords to the oppressed Netherlanders, when they had rushed to arms in the sacred cause of liberty and conscience. This gallant band particularly signalised its valor in the repulse of an assault made by don John of Austria upon the Dutch camp; a hot action, in which Norris had three horses shot under him. In 1588 he was a distinguished member of the council of war. The expedition to Portugal in which he commanded has been already related; and its ill success was ascribable to no want of courage or conduct on his part. In the war of Bretagne he gained high praise by a skilful retreat, in which he drew off his small band of English safe and entire before the face of a hostile army. We shall afterwards hear of him in a high command in Ireland.

Military glory was the darling object of the ambition of Essex; and jealous perhaps of the fame which sir John Norris was acquiring in the French wars, he prevailed upon the queen to grant him the command of a fresh body of troops destined to assist Henry in expelling the Leaguers from Normandy. The new general was deeply mortified

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at being obliged to remain for some time inactive at Dieppe, while the French king was carrying his arms into another quarter, whither Essex was restrained by the positive commands of his sovereign from following him. At length they formed in concert the siege of Rouen; but when the town was nearly reduced to extremity, an unexpected march of the duke of Parma compelled Henry to desert the enterprise. Elizabeth made it a subject of complaint against her ally, that the English soldiers were always thrust foremost on every occasion of danger; but by themselves this perilous pre-eminence was claimed as a privilege due to the brilliancy of their valor; and their leader, delighted with the spirit which they displayed, encouraged and rewarded it by distributing among his officers, with a profusion which highly offended his sovereign, the honor of knighthood, bestowed by herself with much selection and reserve. Essex supported his character for personal courage and indulged his impetuous temper, by sending an idle challenge to the governor of Rouen, who seems to have known his duty too well to accept it; but his sanguine anticipations of some distinguished success were baffled by a want of correspondence between the plans of Henry and the commands of Elizabeth; perhaps also in some degree by his own deficiency in the skill of a general. He had the further grief to lose by a musket-shot his only brother, Walter Devereux, a young man of great hopes, to whom he was fondly attached; and leaving his men before Rouen, under the conduct of sir Roger Williams, a brave soldier, he returned

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with little glory, in the beginning of 1592, to soothe the displeasure of the queen and combat the malicious suggestions of his enemies. In this bloodless warfare better success awaited him. His partial mistress received his excuses with kindness; and not only restored him to her wonted grace, but soon after testified her opinion of his abilities by granting him admission into the council.

The royal progress of this year, in Sussex and Hampshire, affords some circumstances worthy of mention. Viscount Montacute, (now written Montagu,) a nobleman in much esteem with Elizabeth, though a zealous catholic, solicited the honor of entertaining her at his seat of Coudray, near Midhurst; a mansion splendid enough to attract the curiosity and admiration of a royal visitant. The manor of Midhurst, in which Coudray was situated, had belonged during several ages to a branch of the potent family of Bohun; thence it passed into possession of the Nevils, a race second to none in England in the antiquity of its nobility and the splendor of its alliances: it thus became a part of the vast inheritance of Margaret countess of Salisbury, daughter of George duke of Clarence. Coudray-house was the principal residence of this illustrious and injured lady; and it was here that the discovery took place of those papal bulls and emblematical banners which afforded a pretext to malice and rapacity to conspire against the miserable remnant of her days.

By the attainder of the countess, this, with the rest of her estates, became forfeited to the crown; but Henry was prevailed upon to re-grant it, in

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exchange for other lands, to the heirs of her great-uncle John Nevil marquis Montagu. From an heir female of this branch, viscount Montagu,—son of sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse to Henry VIII., — derived it and his title, conferred by queen Mary. But his half-brother, the earl of Southampton, had previously substituted to the ancient mansion a costly structure, decorated internally with that profusion of homely art which displayed the wealth and satisfied the taste of a courtier of Henry VIII. The building was, as usual, quadrangular, with a great gate flanked by two towers in the centre of the principal front. At the upper end of the hall stood a buck as large as life, carved in brown wood, bearing on his shoulder the shield of England, and under it that of Brown with many quarterings: ten other bucks, in various attitudes and of the size of life, were planted at intervals. There was a parlour more elegantly adorned with the works of Holbein and his scholars;—a chapel richly furnished;—a long gallery painted with the twelve apostles;—and a corresponding one hung with family pictures and with various old paintings on subjects religious and military, brought from Battle Abbey; the spoils of which had been assigned to sir Anthony Brown as that share of the general plunder of the monasteries to which his long and faithful service had entitled him from the bounty of his master.

Amongst other particulars of the visit of her majesty at Coudray, we are told that on the morning after her arrival she rode in the park, where "a delicate bower" was prepared; and a nymph

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with a sweet song delivered her a cross-bow to shoot at the deer; of which she killed three or four, and the countess of Kildare one: — it may be added, that this was a kind of amusement in which the ladies of that age not unfrequently partook; an additional trait of the barbarity of manners.

Viscount Montagu died two years after this visit; and, to complete his story, lies buried in Midhurst church, under a splendid monument of many-colored marbles, on which may still be seen a figure representing him kneeling before an altar, in fine gilt armour, with a cloak and "beard of formal cut." Beneath are placed recumbent effigies of his two wives dressed in rich cloaks and ruffs, with chained unicorns at their feet; and the whole is surrounded with sculptured scutcheons laboriously executed with innumerable quarterings.

At Elvetham in Hampshire the queen was sumptuously entertained during a visit of four days by the earl of Hertford. This nobleman was reputed to be master of more ready money than any other person in the kingdom; and though the cruel imprisonment of nine years, by which Elizabeth had doomed him to expiate the offence of a clandestine union with the blood-royal, could scarcely have been obliterated from his indignant memory, certain considerations respecting the interests of his children might probably render him not unwilling to gratify her by a splendid act of homage; though peculiar circumstances increased beyond measure the expence and inconvenience of her present visit. Elvetham, which was little more than a hunting seat, was far from possessing sufficient accommo-

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dation for the court; and the earl was obliged to supply its deficiencies by very extensive erections of timber, fitted up and furnished with all the elegance that circumstances would permit. He likewise found it necessary to cause a large pond to be dug, in which were formed three islands, artificially constructed in the likeness of a fort, a ship, and a mount, for the exhibition of fireworks and other splendid pageantries. The water was made to swarm with swimming and wading sea-gods, who blew trumpets instead of shells, and recited verses in praise of her majesty: finally, a tremendous battle was enacted between the Tritons of the pond and certain sylvan deities of the park; which was long and valiantly disputed with darts on one side and large squirts on the other; and suddenly terminated, to the delight of all beholders, by the seizure and submersion of old Sylvanus himself.

Elizabeth quitted Elvetham so highly gratified by the attentions of the noble owner, that she made him a voluntary promise of her special favor and protection; but we shall find hereafter, that her long-enduring displeasure against him relative to his first marriage was not yet so entirely laid aside but that a slight pretext was sufficient to bring it once more into malignant activity.

Early in the same summer the queen also paid a visit to lord Burleigh at his favorite seat in Hertfordshire, of which sir Thomas Wylks thus speaks in a letter to sir Robert Sidney: —

"I suppose you have heard of her majesty's great entertainment at Theobald's; of her knighting Mr. Robert Cecil; and of the expectation of

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his advancement to the secretaryship; but so it is, as we say in court, that the knighthood must serve for both." [a]

Sir Christopher Hatton died in the latter end of the year 1591. It appears that he had been languishing for a considerable time under a mortal disease; yet the vulgar appetite for the wonderful and the tragical occasioned it to be reported that he died of a broken heart, in consequence of her majesty's having demanded of him, with a rigor which he had not anticipated, the payment of certain monies received by him for tenths and first fruits. It was added, that, struck with compunction on learning to what extremity her severity had reduced him, her majesty had paid him several visits, and endeavoured by her gracious and soothing speeches to revive his failing spirits; — but that the blow was struck, and her repentance came too late. There is indeed no doubt that the queen manifested great interest in the fate of her chancellor, and paid him during his last illness very extraordinary personal attentions: — but it ought to be mentioned, in refutation of the former part of the story, that she remitted to his nephew and heir, — who was married to a grand-daughter of Burleigh's, — all her claims on the property which he left behind him.

During his lifetime, also, Hatton seems to have tasted more largely than most of his competitors of the solid fruits of royal favor. Elizabeth persevered in the practice, originating in the reigns of her father and brother, of endowing her courtiers out

[a] *Sidney Papers.*

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of the spoils of the church. Sometimes, to the public scandal, she would keep a bishopric many years vacant for the sake of appropriating its whole revenues to secular uses and persons; and still more frequently, the presentation to a see was given under the condition, express or implied, that certain manors should be detached from its possessions, or beneficial leases of lands and tenements granted to particular persons. Thus, the bishop of Ely was required to make a cession to sir Christopher Hatton of the garden and orchard of Ely-house, near Holborn; and on the refusal of the prelate to surrender property which he regarded himself as bound in honor and conscience to transmit unimpaired to his successors, the chancellor instituted a suit against him in his own court, by which having succeeded in wresting from him the land, he made it the site of a splendid house surrounded by gardens, which have been replaced by the street still bearing his name. He had even sufficient interest with her majesty to cause her to address to the bishop the following violent letter; several times, with some variations, reprinted: —

"Proud prelate;

"I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement; but I would have you to know, that I who made you what you are can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God I will immediately unfrock you.

"Yours as you demean yourself,

"ELIZABETH."

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Sir John Harrington, in his Brief View of the Church of England, accuses the lord chancellor Hatton of likewise coveting a certain manor attached to the see of Bath and Wells; and of inflaming the queen's indignation against bishop Godwin on account of his second marriage, in order to frighten him into compliance; a manœuvre which in part succeeded; since the bishop was reduced, by way of compromise, to grant him a long lease of another manor somewhat inferior in value.

With all this, Hatton, as we have formerly observed, was distinguished as the patron of the established church against the puritans; but his zeal in its behalf, whether real or affected, was attended by a spirit of moderation then rare, and always commendable. He disliked, and sometimes checked, the oppressions exercised against the catholics by the rigid enforcement of recent statutes; and he is reported to have held the doctrine, at that time a novel one, that neither fire nor steel ought ever to be employed on a religious account.

The chancellor, besides his other merits and accomplishments, was a cultivator of the drama. In 1568 a tragedy was performed before her majesty and afterwards published, entitled Tancred and Gismund, or Gismonde of Salerne; the joint performance of five students of the Temple, who appear each to have taken an act; the fourth bears the signature of Hatton. It is also probable that he gave the queen some assistance in similar pursuits, as her translation of a part of the tragedy of Hercules Œtæus, preserved in the Bodleian library, is in his handwriting.

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But it was never forgotten by others, nor apparently by himself, that he was brought into notice by his dancing; and we learn from a contemporary letter-writer, that even after he had attained the dignity of lord chancellor he laid aside his gown to dance at the wedding of his nephew. The circumstance is pleasantly alluded to by the poet Gray in the description of Stoke-Pogeis house, with which his "Long Story" opens.

> "In Britain's isle, no matter where,
> An ancient pile of building stands;
> The Huntingdons and Hattons there
> Employed the power of fairy hands.
>
> To raise the ceiling's fretted height,
> Each pannel in achievements clothing,
> Rich windows that exclude the light,
> And passages that lead to nothing.
>
> Full oft within the spacious walls,
> When he had fifty winters o'er him,
> My grave lord keeper led the brawls,
> The seal and maces danced before him.
>
> His bushy beard and shoe-strings green,
> His high-crown'd hat and satin doublet,
> Moved the stout heart of England's queen,
> Though pope and Spaniard could not trouble it."

As chancellor of Oxford, Hatton was succeeded by lord Buckhurst, to the fresh mortification of Essex, who again advanced pretensions to this honorary office, and was a second time baffled by her majesty's open interference in behalf of his competitor.

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The more important post of lord chancellor remained vacant for some months, the seals being put in commission; after which sergeant Pickering was appointed lord keeper; a person of decent character, who appears to have performed the duties of his office without taking any conspicuous part in the court factions, or exercising any marked influence over the general administration of affairs.

Towards one person of considerable note in his day, sir John Perrot, some time deputy of Ireland, Hatton is reported to have acted the part of an industrious and contriving enemy; being provoked by the taunts which sir John was continually throwing out against him as one who "had entered the court in a galliard;" and further instigated by the complaints, well or ill founded, of some of his particular friends and adherents, against the deputy.

Sir John Perrot derived from a considerable family of that name seated at Haroldstone, in Pembrokeshire, his name and large estates; but his features, his figure, his air, and common fame, gave him for a father king Henry VIII. Nor was his resemblance to this redoubted monarch merely external; his temper was haughty and violent; his demeanor *blustering;* his language always coarse; and in the fits of rage to which he was subject, abusive to excess. He was however destitute neither of merit nor abilities. As president of Munster, he had rendered great services to her majesty in 1572 by his vigorous conduct against the rebels. As lord deputy of Ireland between the years 1584 and 1588, he had made efforts still

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more praiseworthy towards the pacification of that unhappy and ill-governed country, by checking as much as possible the oppressions of every kind exercised by the English of the pale against the miserable natives; towards whom his policy was liberal and benevolent. But his attempts at reformation armed against him, as usual, a host of foes, amongst whom was particularly distinguished Loftus archbishop of Dublin; whom he had exasperated by proposing to apply the revenues of St. Patrick's cathedral to the foundation of an university in the capital of Ireland. Forged letters were among the means to which the unprincipled malice of his adversaries resorted for his destruction. One of these atrocious fabrications, in which an Irish chieftain was made to complain of excessive injustice on the part of the deputy, was detected by the exertions of the supposed writer; whom Perrot had in reality attached to himself by many benefits; but a second letter, which contained a protection to a catholic priest, and made Perrot employ the words *our* castle of Dublin, *our* kingdom of Ireland, produced a fatally strong impression on the jealous mind of Elizabeth.

Meantime the ill-fated deputy, conscious of his own fidelity and essential loyalty, and unsuspicious of the snares spread around him, was often unguarded enough to give vent, in gross and furious invective against the person of her majesty, to the profound vexation which he, in common with all preceding and following governors of Ireland under Elizabeth, was doomed to endure from the penury of her supplies and the magnitude of her requisi-

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tions. His words were all carried to the queen, mingled with such artful insinuations as served to impart to these unmeaning ebullitions of a hasty temper the air of deliberate contempt and meditated disloyalty towards his sovereign.

Just before the sailing of the armada, Perrot was recalled; partly, indeed, at his own request. A rigid, or rather a malicious inquiry, was then instituted into all the details of his actions, words, and behaviour in Ireland; and he was committed to the friendly custody of lord Burleigh. Afterwards, the lords Hunsdon and Buckhurst, with two or three other councillors, were ordered to search and seize his papers in the house of the lord treasurer without the participation of this great minister; who was at once offended and alarmed at the step. Perrot was committed to the Tower, and at length, in April, 1592, put upon his trial for high treason. The principal heads of accusation were; —his contemptuous words of the queen; —his secret encouragement of O'Rourk's rebellion and the Spanish invasion; —and his favouring of traitors. Of all these charges except the first he seems to have proved his innocence; and on this he excused himself by the heat of his temper and the absence of all ill intention from his mind. He was however found guilty by a jury much more studious of the reputation of loyalty than careful of the rights of Englishmen.

Hatton was the chief court-enemy of Perrot, who, on leaving the bar, is reported to have exclaimed, "God's death! will the queen suffer her

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brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my *frisking* adversaries?"

The queen felt the force of his appeal to the ties of blood. It was long before she could be brought to confirm his sentence; and she would never sign a warrant for its execution. Burleigh shed tears on hearing the verdict, saying with a sigh, that hatred was always the more inveterate the less it was deserved.

It is mentioned that Elizabeth, when her first emotions of anger had passed away, was frequently heard to praise that rescript of the emperor Theodosius in which it is thus written: —

"Should any one have spoken evil of the emperor, if through levity, it should be despised; if through insanity, pitied; if through malice, forgiven." She is likewise said, in language more familiar to her, to have sworn a great oath that they who accused Perrot were all knaves; and he an honest and faithful man. It was accordingly presumed that she entertained the design of extending to him the royal pardon; but her mercy, if such it merits to be called, was tardy; and in September, 1592, six months after his condemnation, this victim of malice perished in the Tower; of disease according to Camden; but, by other accounts, of a broken heart. In either case the story is an affecting one; and worthy to be had in remembrance, as a striking and terrible example of the potency of court-intrigue and the guilty subserviency of judicial tribunals under the jealous rule of the last of the Tudors.

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English literature, under the auspices of Elizabeth and her learned court, had been advancing with a steady and rapid progress; and it may be interesting to contemplate the state of one of its fairest provinces, as exhibited by the pen of an able critic, who in the year 1589 gave to the world an Art of English Poesy. This work, though addressed to the queen, was published with a dedication to lord Burleigh, by the printer; for the author thought proper to remain concealed: on its first appearance its merit caused it to be ascribed to Spenser by some; and to Sidney by others; but it was traced at length to Puttenham, one of her majesty's gentlemen-pensioners; the author of some adulatory poems addressed to her and called Partheniads, and of various other pieces now lost.

The subject is here methodically treated in three books; the first, "Of Poets and Poesy;" the second, "Of Proportion;" the third, "Of Ornament." After some remarks on the origin of the art and its earliest professors; and an account of the various kinds of poems known to the ancients; —in which there is an absence of pedantry, of quaintness, and of every species of puerility, very rare among the didactic writers of the age; — the critic proceeds to an enumeration of our principal vernacular poets, or "*vulgar makers*," as he is pleased to anglicize the words. Beginning with a just tribute to Chaucer, as the father of genuine English verse, he passes rapidly to the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII.; when, as he observes, there "sprung up a new company of courtly

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makers, of whom sir Thomas Wyat the elder and Henry earl of Surry were the two chieftains; who having travelled into Italy and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesy; as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesy, from that it had been before; and for that cause may justly be said the first reformers of our English metre and style." *

After slight notice of the minor poets who flourished under Edward VI. and Mary, he goes on to observe, that "in her majesty's time that now is, are sprung up another crew of courtly makers, noblemen and gentlemen of her majesty's own servants; who have written excellently well, as it would appear if their doing could be found out and made public with the rest." And in a subsequent passage he thus awards to each of them his appropriate commendation: "Of the latter sort I think thus: That for tragedy the lord Buckhurst and master Edward Ferrys (Ferrers), for such doings as I have seen of theirs do deserve the highest price. The earl of Oxford and master Edwards of her majesty's chapel, for comedy and interlude. For eglogue and pastoral poesy, sir Philip Sidney and master Chaloner; and that other gentleman who wrate the late 'Shepherd's

* This passage is quoted partly for the sake of the express and authentic testimony which it bears to the fact of Surry's having visited Italy; which Mr. Chalmers and after him Dr. Nott, in their respective biographies of the noble poet, have been induced to call in question.

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Calendar.'[a] For ditty and amorous ode, I find sir Walter Raleigh's vein most lofty, insolent, and passionate. Master Edward Dyer for elegy, most sweet, solemn, and of high conceit. Gascoigne for a good metre and for a plentiful vein. Phaer and Golding for a learned and well corrected verse; specially in translation clear, and very faithfully answering their author's intent. Others have also written with much facility, but more commendably perchance if they had not written so much nor so popularly."[b] The passage concludes with a piece of flattery to her majesty in her poetical capacity, unworthy of transcription.

Under the head of "Poetical Proportion" or metre, our author writes learnedly of the measures of the ancients; and, on those employed by our native poets, with singular taste and judgement; except that the artist-like pride in difficulty overcome has inspired him with an unwarrantable fondness for verses arranged in eggs, roundels, lozenges, triquets, and other ingenious figures, of which he has given diagrams, further illustrated by finished specimens of his own construction.

Great efforts had been made about this period by a literary party, of which Stanihurst the translator of Virgil, Sidney, and Gabriel Hervey, were the leaders, to introduce the Greek and Roman measures into English verse; and Puttenham has judged it necessary to compose a chapter thus entitled: "How, if all manner of sudden inno-

[a] Spenser published this work under the signature of "Immerito."

[b] *Art of English Poesy*, book i.

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vations were not very scandalous, especially in the laws of any language or art, the use of Greek and Latin feet might be brought into our vulgar poesy; and with good grace enough." But it is evident, on the whole, that he bore no good will to this pedantic novelty.

In treating of "Ornament," our author enumerates, explains, and exemplifies all the rhetorical figures of the Greeks; adding, for the benefit of courtiers and ladies, to whom his work is principally addressed, translations of their names; — several of which would require to be retranslated for the benefit of the modern reader; as, for example, the three following, all figures of derision: — "The fleering frump;" — "The broad flout:" — "The privy nip." At the present day, however, the work of Puttenham is most to be valued for the remarks on language and on manners, and the contemporary anecdotes with which it abounds; and of which some examples may be quoted. After observing that "as it hath been always reputed a great fault to use figurative speeches foolishly and indiscreetly, so it is esteemed no less an imperfection in man's utterance to have none use of figure at all; specially in our writing and speeches public, making them but as our ordinary talk, than which nothing can be more unsavory and far from all civility. I remember," says he, "in the first year of queen Mary's reign a knight of Yorkshire was chosen speaker of the parliament, a good gentleman, and wise in the affairs of his shire; and not unlearned in the laws of the realm; but as well for lack of some of his teeth as for want of

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language, nothing well spoken; which at that time and business was most behoveful for him to have been: this man, after he had made his oration to the queen; which ye know is of course to be done at the first assembly of both houses; a bencher of the Temple, both well learned and very eloquent, returning from the parliament-house, asked another gentleman his friend, how he liked Mr. Speaker's oration? 'Mary,' quoth the other, 'methinks I heard not a better alehouse tale told this seven years.'.....And though grave and wise councillors in their consultations do not use much superfluous eloquence; and also in their judicial hearings do much mislike all scholastical rhetorics: yet in such a case.....if the lord chancellor of England or archbishop of Canterbury himself were to speak, he ought to do it cunningly and eloquently, which cannot be without the use of figures: and nevertheless none impeachment or blemish to the gravity of the persons or of the cause: wherein I report me to them that knew sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, or the now lord treasurer of England, and have been conversant with their speeches made in the Parliament-house and Star-chamber. From whose lips I have seen to proceed more grave and natural eloquence than from all the orators of Oxford or Cambridge; but all is as it is handled; and maketh no matter whether the same eloquence be natural to them or artificial (though I rather think natural); yet were they known to be learned and not unskilful of the art when they were younger men.....I have come to the lord keeper sir Nicholas Bacon, and found him

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sitting in his gallery alone with the works of Quintilian before him; indeed he was a most eloquent man, and of rare learning and wisdom as ever I knew England to breed; and one that joyed as much in learned men and men of good wits."

Puttenham mentions being a by-stander when a doctor of civil law, "pleading in a litigious cause betwixt a man and his wife, before a great magistrate, who (as they can tell that knew him) was a man very well learned and grave, but somewhat sour and of no plausible utterance: the gentleman's chance was to say, 'My lord, the simple woman is not so much to blame as her leud abettors, who by *violent* persuasions have led her into this wilfulness.' Quoth the Judge, 'What need such eloquent terms in this place?' The gentleman replied, 'Doth your lordship mislike the term (*violent*)? and methinks I speak it to great purpose; for I am sure she would never have done it, but by force of persuasion.'"

Pursuing the subject of language, which, he says, "in our maker or poet must be heedily looked unto that it be natural, pure, and the most usual of all his country;" after some other rules or cautions he adds, "Our maker therefore at these days shall not follow Piers Plowman, nor Gower, nor Lydgate, nor yet Chaucer; for their language is now out of use with us; neither shall he take the terms of Northern men, such as they use in daily talk, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or of their best clerks, all is a matter; nor in effect any speech used beyond the river of Trent; though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so courtly nor

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so current as our Southern English is; no more is the far Western man's speech: ye shall therefore take the usual speech of the court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within sixty miles and not much above. I say not this but in every shire of England there be gentlemen and others that speak, but specially write, as good Southern as we of Middlesex or Surry do; but not the common people of every shire, to whom the gentlemen and also their learned clerks do for the most part condescend; but herein we are ruled by the English dictionaries and other books written by learned men; and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalf. Albeit peradventure some small admonition be not impertinent, for we find in our English writers many words and speeches amendable; and ye shall see in some many inkhorn-terms so ill affected brought in by men of learning, as preachers and schoolmasters; and many strange terms of other languages by secretaries and merchants and travellers; and many dark words and not usual nor well sounding, though they be daily spoken in court. Wherefore great heed must be taken by our maker in this point that his choice be good." He modestly expresses his apprehensions that in some of these respects he may himself be accounted a transgressor; and he subjoins a list of the new, foreign, or unusual words employed by him in this tract, with his reasons for their adoption. Of this number are; *scientific*, *conduict*, "a French word, but well allowed of us, and long since usual; it sounds something more than this word (leading), for it is applied only to the leading

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of a captain; and not as a little boy should lead a blind man; *idiom*, from the Greek; *significative*, borrowed of the Latin and French, but to us brought in first by some nobleman's secretary, as I think, yet doth so well serve the turn as it could not now be spared; and many more like usurped Latin and French words; as, *method, methodical, placation, function, assubtiling, refining, compendious, prolix, figurative, inveigle*, a term borrowed of our common lawyers: *impression*, also a new term, but well expressing the matter, and more than our English word: *penetrate, penetrable, indignity*, (in the sense of unworthiness,) and a few more." [a] The whole enumeration is curious; and strikingly exhibits the state of language at this epoch, when the rapid advancement of letters and of all the arts of social life was creating a daily want of new terms, which writers in all classes and individuals in every walk of life regarded themselves as authorised to supply at their own discretion, in any manner and from any sources most accessible to them; whether pure or corrupt, ancient or modern. The pedants of the universities and the travelled coxcombs of the court had each a jargon of their own, unintelligible to each other and to the people at large; on the other hand, there were a few persons of grave professions and austere characters, who, like Cato the Censor during a similar period of accelerated progress in the Roman state, prided themselves on preserving in all its unsophisticated

[a] *Art of English Poesy*, book iii.

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simplicity, or primitive rudeness, the tongue of their forefathers.

The judicious Puttenham, uniting the accuracy of scholastic learning with the enlargement of mind acquired by long intercourse among foreign nations, and with the polish of a courtier, places himself between the contending parties; and with a manly disdain of every species of affectation, but especially of that of rusticity and barbarism, avails himself, without scruple, as without excess, of the copiousness of other languages to supply the remaining deficiencies of his own.

Several chapters of the book "of Ornament" are devoted to the discussion of the "decent," or "seemly," in words and actions; and prove the author to have been a nice observer of manners as well as a refined critic of style. He severely censures a certain translator of Virgil, who said "that Æneas was fain to *trudge* out of Troy; which term better became to be spoken of a beggar, or of a rogue, or of a lackey:" and another who called the same hero "by fate a *fugitive;*" and who inquires "What moved Juno to *tug* so great a captain;" a word "the most indecent in this case that could have been devised; since it is derived from the cart, and signifies the draught or pull of the horses." The phrase "a prince's *pelf*" is reprobated; because "*pelf* means properly the scraps or shreds of taylors and of skinners." The author likewise gives strict rules for the decorous behaviour of ambassadors and all who address themselves to princes; being himself a courtier, and having probably exercised some diplomatic function. "I

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have seen," says he, "foreign ambassadors in the queen's presence laugh so dissolutely at some rare pastime or sport that hath been made there, that nothing in the world could have worse becomen them." With respect to men in other stations of life he is pleased to say, it is decent for a priest "to be sober and sad;" "a judge to be incorrupted, solitary, and unacquainted with courtiers or courtly entertainments; .... without plait or wrinkle, sour in look and churlish in speech; contrariwise, a courtly gentleman to be lofty and curious in countenance, yet sometimes a creeper and a curry favell with his superiors." "And in a prince it is decent to go slowly and to march with leisure; and with a certain grandity rather than gravity; as our sovereign lady and mistress, the very image of majesty and magnificence, is accustomed to do generally; unless it be when she walketh apace for her pleasure, or to catch her a heat in the cold mornings. Nevertheless it is not so decent in a meaner person, as I have discerned in some counterfeit ladies of the country, which use it much to their own derison. This comeliness was wanting in queen Mary, *otherwise a very good and honorable princess.* And was some blemish to the emperor Ferdinando, a most noble-minded man, yet so careless and forgetful of himself in that behalf, as I have seen him run up a pair of stairs so swift and nimble a pace, as almost had not become a very mean man, who had not gone on some hasty business."

Respecting the poets mentioned by Puttenham whose names have not already occurred in the pre-

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sent work, it may be observed, that excepting a few lines quoted by this critic, there is nothing remaining of sir Edward Dyer's, except, which is highly probable, he is to be reckoned among the anonymous contributors to the popular collections of that day. Of Gascoigne, on the contrary, enough is left to exhaust the patience of any modern reader. In his youth, neglecting the study of the law for poetry and pleasure, he poured forth an abundance of amatory pieces; some of them sonnets closely imitating the Italian ones in style as well as structure. Afterwards, during a five-years' service in the war of Flanders, he found leisure for much serious thought; and, discarding the levities of his early years, he composed by way of expiation a moral satire in blank verse called the Steel Glass; and several religious pieces. Notwithstanding however this newly assumed seriousness, he attended her majesty in her progress in the summer of 1575; and composed a large number of courtly verses as a contribution to "the princely pleasures of Kennelworth." Gascoigne died in October, 1577. Of his minor poems the following may be cited as a pleasing specimen: —

THE LULLABY OF A LOVER.

Sing lullaby as women do,
Wherewith they bring their babes to rest,
And lullaby can I sing too
As womanly as can the best.
With lullaby they still the child;
And if I be not much beguil'd,
Full many wanton babes have I,
Which must be stilled with lullaby.

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First lullaby my youthful years,
It is now time to go to bed,
For crooked age and hoary years
Have won the haven within my head:
With lullaby then youth be still,
With lullaby content thy will,
Since courage quails and comes behind,
Go sleep and so beguile thy mind.

Next lullaby my gazing eyes,
Which wonted were to glaunce apace;
For every glass may now suffice
To show the furrows in my face.
With lullaby then wink awhile,
With lullaby your looks beguile:
Let no fair face or beauty bright
Entice you eft with vain delight.

And lullaby my wanton will,
Let reason's rule now rein thy thought,
Since all too late I find by skill,
How dear I have thy fancies bought:
With lullaby now take thine ease,
With lullaby thy doubts appease:
For trust to this, if thou be still,
My body shall obey thy will.

Thus lullaby my youth, mine eyes,
My will, my ware, and all that was;
I can no mo delays devise,
But welcome pain, let pleasure pass:
With lullaby now take your leave,
With lullaby your dreams deceive,
And when you rise with waking eye,
Remember then this lullaby.

Respecting another poet of greater popularity than Gascoigne, and of a more original turn of

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genius, Warner, the author of Albion's England, Puttenham has preserved a discreet silence; — for his great work had been prohibited by the capricious tyranny, or rigid decorum, of archbishop Whitgift; and seizure made in 1586 of the copies surreptitiously printed. This long and singular poem is a kind of metrical chronicle, containing the remarkable events of *English* history from the Flood; — the starting point of all chroniclers; — to the reign of queen Elizabeth. It is written in the common ballad measure, and in a style often creeping and prosaic, sometimes quaint and affected; but interspersed with passages of beautiful simplicity and strokes of genuine pathos which redeem its faults; the tediousness of the historical narration is also relieved by a large intermixture of interesting and entertaining episodes. The ballads of Queen Eleanor and fair Rosamond, Argentile and Curan, and the Patient Countess, selected by Dr. Percy in his Reliques of Ancient Poetry, may be regarded by the poetical student of the present day as a sufficient specimen of the talents of Warner: but in his own time he was complimented as the Homer or Virgil of the age: the persevering reader travelled, not only with patience but delight, through his seventy-seven long chapters; and it is said that Albion's England became popular enough, notwithstanding its prohibition by authority, to supersede in some degree its celebrated predecessor the Mirror for Magistrates.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM 1591 TO 1593.

Naval war against Spain. — Death of Sir Richard Grenville. — Notice of Cavendish. — Establishment of the East India company. — Results of Voyages of Discovery. — Transactions between Raleigh and the queen. — Anecdotes of Robert Cary — of the Holles family. — Progress of the drama. — Dramatic poets before Shakspeare. — Notice of Shakspeare. — Proclamation respecting bear-baiting and acting of plays. — Censorship of the drama. — Anecdote of the queen and Tarleton.

THE maritime war with Spain, notwithstanding the cautious temper of the queen, was strenuously waged during the year 1591, and produced some striking indications of the rising spirit of the English navy.

A squadron under lord Thomas Howard, which had been waiting six months at the Azores to intercept the homeward-bound ships from Spanish America, was there surprised by a vastly more numerous fleet of the enemy which had been sent out for their convoy. The English admiral got to sea in all haste and made good his retreat, followed by his whole squadron excepting the Revenge; which was entangled in a narrow channel between the port and an island. Sir Richard Grenville, her commander, after a vain attempt to break through the Spanish line, determined, with a kind of heroic

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desperation, to sustain alone the conflict with a whole fleet of fifty-seven sail; and to confront all extremities rather than strike his colors. From three o'clock in the afternoon till day-break he resisted, by almost incredible efforts of valor, all the force which could be brought to bear against him; and fifteen times beat back the boarding parties from his deck. At length, when all his bravest had fallen, and he himself was disabled by many wounds; his powder likewise being exhausted, his small-arms lost or broken, and his ship a perfect wreck; he proposed to his gallant crew to sink her, that no trophy might remain to the enemy. But this proposal, though applauded by several, was overruled by the majority: the Revenge struck to the Spaniards; and two days after, her brave commander died on board their admiral's ship of his glorious wounds, "with a joyful and quiet mind," as he expressed himself; and admired by his enemies for his high spirit and invincible resolution. This was the first English ship of any considerable size captured by the Spaniards during the whole war, and it did them little good; for, besides that the vessel had been so shattered in the action that she sunk a few days after with two hundred Spanish sailors on board, the example of heroic self-devotion set by sir Richard Grenville long continued to strike awe and terror to their hearts in the hour of battle.

Thomas Cavendish, elated by the splendid success of that first expedition in which, with three slender barks of insignificant size, carrying only one hundred and twenty-three persons of every

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degree, he had plundered the whole coast of New Spain and Peru; burned Paita and Acapulco, and captured a Spanish admiral of seven hundred tons, besides many other vessels taken or burned; — then crossed the great South Sea, and circumnavigated the globe in the shortest time in which that exploit had yet been performed: — set sail in August 1591 on a second voyage. But on this occasion, when his far greater force and more adequate preparations of every kind seemed to promise results still more profitable and glorious, scarcely any thing but disasters awaited him. He took indeed the town of Santos in Brazil, which was an acquisition of some importance; but delaying here too long, he arrived at a wrong season in the Straits of Magellan; and was compelled to endure the winter of that inhospitable clime; where, seeing his numbers thinned by sickness and hardship, and his plans baffled by dissensions and insubordination, he found it necessary to abandon his original design of crossing the South Sea; and resolved to undertake the voyage to China by the Cape of Good Hope. First, however, he was fatally prevailed upon to return to the coast of Brazil, where he lost many men in rash attempts against various towns which, expecting his attacks, were now armed for their defence; and a still greater number by desertion. Baffled in all his designs, and worn out with fatigue, anxieties, and chagrin, this brave but unfortunate adventurer breathed his last far from England, on the wide ocean, and so obscurely that even the date of his death is unknown.

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At this period, a peculiar education was regarded as no more requisite to enable a gentleman to assume the direction of a naval expedition than the command of a troop of horse; and it is probable that even Cavendish, whose exploits we read with amazement, possessed but a very slender stock of maritime experience when he first embarked on board the vessel in which he had undertaken to circumnavigate the globe. He was the third son of a Suffolk gentleman of large estate; came early to court; and having there consumed his patrimony in the fashionable magnificence of the time, suddenly discovered within himself sufficient courage to attempt the reparation of his broken fortunes by that favorite resource, the plunder of the Spanish settlements. On his return from his first voyage he sailed up the Thames in a kind of triumph; displaying a top-sail of cloth of gold, and making ostentation of the profit rather than the glory of the enterprise. He appears to have been equally deficient in the enlightened prudence which makes an essential feature of the great commander, and in that lofty disinterestedness of motive which constitutes the hero; but in the activity, the enterprise, the brilliant valor, which now form the spirit of the English navy, he had few equals, and especially few predecessors; and amongst the founders of its glory the name of Cavendish is therefore worthy of a conspicuous and enduring place.

The failure of the attempt to seat don Antonio on the throne of Portugal had established the sovereignty of Philip II. over that country and its

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dependencies; and in consequence the Portuguese trade and settlements in the East offered a tempting prize to the ambition or cupidity of English adventurers.

The passage by the Cape of Good Hope, repeatedly accomplished by circumnavigators of this nation, had now ceased to oppose any formidable obstacle to the spirit of maritime enterprize; and the papal donation was a bulwark still less capable of preserving inviolate to the sovereigns of Portugal their own rich Indies. The first expedition ever fitted out from England for those eastern regions where it now possesses an extent of territory in comparison of which itself is but a petty province, consisted of three "tall ships," which sailed in this year, 1591, under the conduct of George Raymond and James Lancaster. After doubling the Cape, and refreshing themselves in Saldanha Bay, which the Portuguese had named but not yet settled, the navigators steered along the eastern coast of Africa, where the ship commanded by Raymond was lost. With the other two, however, they proceeded still eastward; passed without impediment all the stations of the Portuguese on the shores of the Indian ocean, doubled Cape Comorin and extended their voyage to the Nicobar isles; and even to the peninsula of Malacca. They landed in several parts, where they found means to open an advantageous traffic with the natives; and, after capturing many Portuguese vessels laden with various kinds of merchandize, repassed the Cape in perfect safety with all their booty. In their way home they visited the West Indies, where signal

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disasters awaited them; for here their two remaining ships were lost; and Lancaster, with the slender remnant of their crews, was glad to obtain a passage to Europe on board a French ship which happily arrived to their relief. But as far as respected the eastern part of the expedition, their success had been such as strongly to invite the attempts of future adventurers; and nine years after its sailing, her majesty was prevailed upon to grant a charter of incorporation with ample privileges to an East India company, under whose auspices Lancaster consented to undertake a second voyage. Annual fleets were from this period fitted out by these enterprising traders; and factories of their establishment soon arose in Surat, in Masulipatam, in Bantam, in Siam, and even in Japan. The history of their progress makes no part of the subject of the present work; but the foundation under her auspices of a mercantile company which has advanced itself to power and importance absolutely unparalleled in the annals of the world, forms a feature not to be overlooked in the glory of Elizabeth.

These long and hazardous voyages of discovery, of hostility, or of commerce, began henceforth to afford one of the most honorable occupations to those among the youthful nobility or gentry of the country, whose active spirits disdained the luxurious and servile idleness of the court: they also opened a welcome resource to younger sons and younger brothers, impatient to emancipate themselves from that necessitous dependence on the head of their house to which the

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customs of their age and country relentlessly condemned them.

Thus Shakspeare in his Two Gentlemen of Verona;

> ..... "He wondered that your lordship
> Would suffer him to spend his youth at home,
> While other men of slender reputation
> Put forth their sons to seek preferment out:
> Some to the wars to try their fortune there;
> *Some to discover islands far away;*
> Some to the studious universities.
> For any or for all these exercises,
> He said, that Protheus your son was meet.
> And did request me to importune you
> To let him spend his time no more at home:
> Which would be great impeachment to his age,
> In having known no travel in his youth."

But the advancement of the fortunes of individuals was by no means the principal or most permanent good which accrued to the nation by these enterprises. The period was still indeed far distant, in which voyages of discovery were to be undertaken with scientific objects and large views of general utility; but new animals, new vegetables, natural productions or manufactured articles before unknown to them, attracted the attention even of these first unskilled explorers. Specimens in every kind were brought home; and recommended, as they never failed to be, by fabulous or grossly exaggerated descriptions, they, in the first instance, only served to gratify and inflame the vulgar passion for wonders. But the attention excited by these striking novelties gradually became enlight-

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ened; a more familiar acquaintance disclosed their genuine properties and the purposes to which they might be applied at home. Raleigh introduced the potato on his Irish estates; an acceptable, however inelegant, luxury, was discovered in the use of tobacco; and somewhat later, the introduction of tea gradually brought sobriety and refinement into the system of modern English manners.

Many allusions to the prevailing passion for beholding foreign, or, as they were then accounted, monstrous animals, may be found scattered over the works of Shakspeare and contemporary dramatists. Trinculo says, speaking of Caliban, "Were I but in England now .... and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster *make* a man; any strange beast there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian." And again; "Do you put tricks upon's with savages and men of Inde?" &c. The whole play of the Tempest, exquisite as it is, must have derived a still more poignant relish, to the taste of that age, from the romantic ideas of desert islands then floating in the imaginations of men.

In the following year, 1592, Raleigh, weary of his Irish exile, and anxious by some splendid exploit to revive the declining affection of the queen, projected a formidable attack on the Spanish power in America; and engaged without difficulty in the enterprise a large number of volunteers. But unavoidable obstacles arose, by which the fleet was

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detained till the proper season for its sailing was past: Elizabeth recalled Raleigh to court; and the only fortunate result of the expedition, to the command of which Martin Frobisher succeeded, was the capture of one wealthy carrack and the destruction of another.

Raleigh, in the meantime, was solacing his involuntary idleness in an intrigue with one of her majesty's maids of honor, a daughter of the celebrated sir Nicholas Throgmorton. The queen, in the heat of her indignation at the scandal brought upon her court by the consequences of this amour, resorted, as in a thousand other cases, to a vigor beyond the laws; and though sir Walter offered immediately to make the lady the best reparation in his power, by marrying her, which he afterwards performed, Elizabeth unfeelingly published her shame to the whole world by sending both culprits to the Tower.

Sir Walter remained a prisoner during several months. Meanwhile his ships returned from their cruize; and the profits from the sale of the captured carrack were to be divided among the queen, the admiral, the sailors, and the several contributors to the outfit. Disputes arose; her majesty was dissatisfied with the share allotted her; and taking advantage of the situation into which her own despotic violence had thrown Raleigh, she appears to have compelled him to buy his liberty and the undisturbed enjoyment of all that he held under her, by the sacrifice of no less than eighty thousand pounds due to him as admiral. Such was the disinterested purity of that zeal for morals of which

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Elizabeth judged it incumbent on her to make profession!

It may be curious to learn, from another incident which occurred about the same time, at what rate her majesty caused her forgiveness of lawful matrimony to be purchased.

Robert Cary, third son of lord Hunsdon, created lord Leppington by James I. and earl of Monmouth by his successor, — from whose memoirs of himself the following particulars are derived, — was at this time a young man, and an assiduous attendant on the court of his illustrious kinswoman. Being a younger son, he had no patrimony either in possession or reversion; he received from the exchequer only one hundred pounds per annum during pleasure; and by the style of life which he found or fancied it necessary to support, had incurred a debt of a thousand pounds. In this situation he married a widow possessed of five hundred pounds per annum, and some ready money. His father evinced no displeasure on the occasion; but his other friends, and especially the queen, were so much offended at the match, that he took his wife to Carlisle, and remained there without approaching the court till the next year. Being then obliged to visit London on business, his father suggested the expediency of his paying the queen the compliment of appearing on *her day*. Accordingly, he secretly prepared caparisons and a present for her majesty at the cost of more than four hundred pounds; and presented himself in the tilt-yard in the character of "a forsaken knight who had vowed solitariness." The festival over, he made

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himself known to his friends in court; but the queen, though she had received his gift, would not take notice of his presence.

It happened soon after, that the king of Scots sent to Cary's elder brother, then marshal of Berwick, to beg that he would wait upon him to receive a secret message which he wanted to transmit to the queen. The marshal wrote to his father to inquire her majesty's pleasure in the matter. She did not choose that he should stir out of Berwick; but "knowing, though she would not know it," that Robert Cary was in court, she said at length to lord Hunsdon; "I hear your fine son that has married lately so worthily is hereabouts; send him, if you will, to know the king's pleasure." His lordship answered, that he knew he would be happy to obey her commands. "No," said she, "do you bid him go, for I have nothing to do with him." Robert Cary thought it hard to be sent off without first seeing the queen; "Sir," said he to his father, who urged his going, "if she be on such hard terms with me, I had need be wary what I do. If I go to the king without her license, it were in her power to hang me at my return; and that, for any thing I see, it were ill trusting her." Lord Hunsdon "merrily" told the queen what he said. "If the gentleman be so distrustful," she answered, "let the secretary make a safe-conduct to go and come and I will sign it." On his return with letters from James, Robert Cary hastened to court, and entered the presence-chamber, all travel-stained as he was; but the queen not being there, lord Hunsdon went to her to announce his son's

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arrival. She desired him to receive the letter or message and bring it to her. But the young man knew the court and the queen too well to consent to give up his dispatches even to his father; he insisted on delivering them himself; and at length, with much difficulty, gained admission.

The first encounter was, as he expresses it, "stormy and terrible," which he passed over with silence; but when the queen had "said her pleasure" of himself and his wife, he made her a courtly excuse; with which she was so well appeased that she at length assured him all was forgiven and forgotten; and received him into her wonted favor. After this happy conclusion of an adventure so perilous to a courtier of Elizabeth, Cary returned to Carlisle; and his father's death soon occurring, he had orders to take upon himself the government of Berwick till further orders. In this situation he remained a year without salary; impairing much his small estate, and unable to obtain from court either an allowance, or leave of absence to enable him to solicit one in person. At length, emboldened by necessity, he resolved to hazard the step of going up without permission. On his arrival, neither secretary Cecil nor even his own brother would venture to introduce him to the queen's presence; but advised him to hasten back before his absence should be known, for fear of her anger. At last, as he stood sorrowfully pondering on his case, a gentleman of the chamber, touched with pity, undertook to mention his arrival to her majesty in a way which should not displease her; and he opened the case by

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telling her that she was more beholden to the love and service of one man than of many whom she favoured more. This excited her curiosity; and on her asking who this person might be, he answered that it was Robert Cary, who, unable longer to bear his absence from her sight, had posted up to kiss her hand and instantly return. She sent for him directly, received him with greater favor than ever, allowed him after the interview to lead her out by the hand; which seemed to his brother and the secretary nothing less than a miracle; and what was more, granted him five hundred pounds immediately, a patent of the wardenry of the east marches, and a renewal of his grant of Norham-castle. It was this able courtier, rather than grateful kinsman, who earned the good graces of king James by being the first to bring him the welcome tidings of the decease of Elizabeth.

Incidental mention has already been made of sir William Holles of Haughton in Nottinghamshire, the gentleman who refused to marry his daughter to the earl of Cumberland, because he did not choose to stand "cap in hand" to his son-in-law: this worthy knight died at a great age in the year 1590; and a few further particulars respecting him and his descendants may deserve mention, on account of the strong light which they reflect on several points of manners. Sir William was distinguished, perhaps beyond any other person of the same rank in the kingdom, for boundless hospitality and a magnificent style of living. "He began his Christmas," says the historian of

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the family, " at Allhallowtide and continued it until Candlemas; during which any man was permitted to stay three days, without being asked whence he came or what he was." For each of the twelve days of Christmas he allowed a fat ox and other provisions in proportion. He would never dine till after one o'clock; and being asked why he preferred so unusually late an hour, he answered, that " for aught he knew there might a friend come twenty miles to dine with him, and he would be loth he should lose his labor."

At the coronation of Edward VI. he appeared with fifty followers in blue coats and badges; — then the ordinary costume of retainers and serving-men; — and he never went to the sessions at Retford, four miles from his own mansion, without thirty " proper fellows" at his heels. What was then rare among the greatest subjects, he kept a company of actors of his own to perform plays and masques at festival times; in summer they traveled about the country.

This sir William was succeeded in his estates by sir John Holles his grandson; who was one of the band of gentlemen-pensioners to Elizabeth, and in the reign of James I. purchased the title of earl of Clare. His grandfather had engaged to marry him to a kinswoman of the earl of Shrewsbury; but the young man declining to complete this contract, and taking to wife a daughter of sir Thomas Stanhope, the consequence was a long and inveterate feud between the houses of Holles and of Talbot, which was productive of several remarkable incidents. Its first result was a duel between

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Orme, a servant of Holles, and Pudsey, master of horse to the earl of Shrewsbury, in which the latter was slain. The earl prosecuted Orme and sought to take away his life; but sir John Holles in the first instance caused him to be conveyed away to Ireland, and afterwards obtained his pardon of the queen. For his conduct in this business he was himself challenged by Gervase Markham, champion and gallant to the countess of Shrewsbury; but Holles refused the duel, because the unreasonable demand of Markham that it should take place in a park belonging to the earl his enemy, gave him just ground to apprehend that some treachery was meditated. Anxious, however, to wipe away the aspersions which his adversary had taken occasion to cast upon his courage, he sought a rencounter which might wear the appearance of accident; and soon after he met Markham on the road, when the parties immediately dismounted and attacked each other with their rapiers; Markham fell, severely wounded; and the earl of Shrewsbury lost no time in raising his servants and tenantry to the number of one hundred and twenty, in order to apprehend Holles, in case Markham's hurt should prove mortal. On the other side lord Sheffield, the kinsman of Holles, joined him with sixty men. "I hear, cousin," said he on his arrival, "that my lord of Shrewsbury is prepared to trouble you; but take my word, before he carry you it shall cost many a broken pate;" and he and his company remained at Haughton till the wounded man was out of danger. Markham had vowed never to eat supper or take the sacrament till he was re-

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venged; and in consequence found himself obliged to abstain from both to the day of his death.[a] What appears the most extraordinary part of the story is, that we do not find the queen and council interfering to put a stop to this private war, worthy of the barbarism of the feudal ages. Gervase Markham, who was the portionless younger son of a Nottinghamshire gentleman of ancient family, became the most voluminous miscellaneous writer of his age, using his pen apparently as his chief means of subsistence. He wrote on a vast variety of subjects, both in verse and prose; but his works on farriery and husbandry appear to have been the most useful, and those on field-sports the most entertaining, of his performances.

The progress of the drama is a subject which claims in this place some share of our attention, partly because it excited in a variety of ways that of Elizabeth herself. By the appearance of Ferrex and Porrex in 1561, and that of Gammer Gurton's Needle five years later, a new impulse had been given to English genius; and both tragedies and comedies approaching the regular models, besides historical and pastoral dramas, allegorical pieces resembling the old moralities, and translations from the ancients, were from this time produced in abundance; and received by all classes with avidity and delight.

About twenty dramatic poets flourished between 1561 and 1590; and an inspection of the titles

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[a] *Historical Collections, by Collins.*

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alone of their numerous productions would furnish evidence of an acquaintance with the stores of history, mythology, classical fiction and romance, strikingly illustrative of the literary diligence and intellectual activity of the age.

Richard Edwards produced a tragi-comedy on the affecting ancient story of Damon and Pithias, besides his comedy of Palamon and Arcite, formerly noticed as having been performed for the entertainment of her majesty at Oxford. In connexion with this latter piece it may be remarked, that the chivalrous manners lent to Theseus and his court in this celebrated Tale, and in the Midsummer Night's Dream, and all the similar disguised representations of the heroes of antiquity, of which Shakspeare's Troilus and Cressida, his Rape of Lucrece, and some passages of Spenser's Faery Queen, afford examples; originated in Guido Colonna's *Historia Trojana*, written in 1260: a work long and widely popular, which had been translated, paraphrased, and imitated in French and English; and which the barbarism of its incongruities, however offensive to the juster taste of later times, had not as yet consigned to oblivion or contempt.

George Gascoigne, besides his tragedy from Euripides, translated a comedy from Ariosto, performed by the students of Gray's Inn under the title of The Supposes; which was the first specimen in our language of a drama in prose. Italian literature was at this period cultivated amongst us with an assiduity unequalled either before or since; and it possessed few authors of merit or celebrity

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whose works were not speedily familiarized to the English public through the medium of translations. The study of this enchanting language found however a vehement opponent in Roger Ascham; who exclaims against the "enchantments of Circe, brought out of Italy to mar men's manners in England; much by examples of ill life, but more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of Italian into English, and sold in every shop in London." He afterwards declares that "there be mo of these ungracious books set out in print within these few months than have been seen in England many years before." To these strictures on the moral tendencies of the popular writers of Italy some force must be allowed; but it is obvious to remark, that similar objections might be urged with at least equal cogency against the favorite classics of Ascham; and that the use of so valuable an instrument of intellectual advancement as the free introduction of the literature of a highly polished nation into one comparatively rude, is not to be denied to beings capable of moral discrimination, from the apprehension of such partial and incidental injury as may arise out of its abuse. Italy, in fact, was at once the plenteous store-house whence the English poets, dramatists, and romance writers of the latter half of the sixteenth century drew their most precious materials; the school where they acquired taste and skill to adapt them to their various purposes; and the Parnassian mount on which they caught the purest inspirations of the muse.

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Elizabeth was a zealous patroness of these studies; she spoke the Italian language with fluency and elegance; and used it frequently in her mottos and devices: by her encouragement, as we shall see, Harrington was induced to complete his version of the Orlando Furioso; and she willingly accepted, in the year 1600, the dedication of Fairfax's admirable translation of the great epic of Tasso.

But to return to our dramatic writers:... Thomas Kyd was the author of a tragedy entitled Jeronimo, which, for the absurd horrors of its plot and the mingled puerility and bombast of its language, was a source of perpetual ridicule to rival poets; while from a certain wild pathos combined with its imposing grandiloquence, it was long a favorite with the people. Kyd also translated a play by Garnier, on the story of Cornelia, the wife of Pompey;—a solitary obligation, apparently, to the French theatre, on the part of these founders of our national drama.

By Thomas Hughes the misfortunes of Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, were made the subject of a tragedy performed before the queen.

Preston, to whom when a youth her majesty had granted a pension of a shilling a day in consideration of his excellent acting in the play of Palamon and Arcite, composed on the story of Cambyses, king of Persia, "A lamentable Tragedy mixed full of pleasant Mirth;" which is now only remembered as having been an object of ridicule to Shakspeare.

Lilly, the author of Euphues, composed six court-comedies and other pieces principally on classical subjects, but disfigured by all the barbarous

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affectations of style which had marked his earlier production.

Christopher Marlow, unquestionably a man of genius, however deficient in taste and judgement, astonished the world with his Tamburlain the Great, which became in a manner proverbial for its rant and extravagance; he also composed, but in a purer style and with a pathetic cast of sentiment, a drama on the subject of king Edward II.; and administered fuel to the ferocious prejudices of the age by his fiend-like portraiture of Barabas in The rich Jew of Malta. Marlow was also the author of a tragedy, in which the sublime and the grotesque were extraordinarily mingled, on the noted story of Dr. Faustus; a tale of preternatural horrors, which, after the lapse of two centuries, was again to receive a similar distinction from the pen of one of the most celebrated of German dramatists: — not the only example which could be produced of a coincidence of taste between the early tragedians of the two countries.

Of the works of these and other contemporary poets, the fathers of the English theatre, some are extant in print; others have come down to us in manuscript; and of no inconsiderable portion the titles alone survive. A few have acquired an incidental value in the eyes of the curious, as having furnished the ground-work of some of the dramas of our great poet; but not one of the number can justly be said to make a part of the living literature of the country.[a]

[a] Since this sentence was composed, The rich Jew of Malta has been modernized and adapted for representation.

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It was reserved for the transcendent genius of Shakspeare alone, — in that infancy of our theatre when nothing proceeded from the crowd of rival dramatists but rude and abortive efforts, ridiculed by the learned and judicious of their own age and forgotten by posterity, — to astonish and enchant the nation with those inimitable works which form the perpetual boast and immortal heritage of Englishmen.

By a strange kind of fatality, which excites at once our surprise and our unavailing regrets, the domestic and the literary history of this great luminary of his age are almost equally enveloped in doubt and obscurity. Even of the few particulars of his origin and early adventures which have reached us through various channels, the greater number are either imperfectly attested, or exposed to objections of different kinds which render them of little value; and respecting his theatrical life the most important circumstances still remain matter of conjecture, or at best of remote inference.

When Shakspeare first became a writer for the stage; — what was his earliest production; — whether all the pieces usually ascribed to him be really his; and whether there be any others of which he was wholly or in part the author; — what degree of assistance he either received from other dramatic writers or lent to them; — in what chronological order his acknowledged pieces ought to be arranged; and what dates should be assigned to their first representations; — are all questions on which the ingenuity and indefatigable diligence of a crowd of editors, critics, and biographers have

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long been exerted, without producing any considerable approximation to certainty or to general agreement.

On a subject so intricate, it will suffice for the purposes of the present work to state a few of the leading facts which appear to rest on the most satisfactory authorities. William Shakspeare, who was born at Stratford in 1564, settled in London about 1586 or 1587; and seems to have almost immediately adopted the profession of an actor. Yet his earliest effort in composition was not of the dramatic kind; for in 1593 he dedicated to his great patron the earl of Southampton, as "the first heir of his invention," his Venus and Adonis, a narrative poem of considerable length in the six-line stanza then popular. In the subsequent year he also inscribed to the same noble friend his Rape of Lucrece; a still longer poem of similar form in the stanza of seven lines: and containing enough of vivid description, of exquisite imagery, and of beautiful and animated sentiment, to have entitled him, had he written nothing more, to rank with the author of the Faery Queen; and far above all other contemporary poets. He likewise employed his pen occasionally in the composition of sonnets, principally devoted to love and friendship, and written perhaps in emulation of those of Spenser; who, as one of these sonnets testifies, was at this period the object of his ardent admiration.

Before the publication however of any one of these early poems, he must have attained considerable note as a dramatic author; since Robert Green, in a satirical piece printed in 1592, speak-

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ing of theatrical concerns, stigmatizes this "player" as "an absolute Joannes Factotum;" and one who was "in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country."

The tragedy of Pericles, which was published in 1609 with the name of Shakspeare in the title-page; and of which Dryden says in one of his prologues to a first play, "Shakspeare's own muse his Pericles first bore;" was probably acted in 1590, and appears to have been long popular. Romeo and Juliet was certainly an early production of his muse; and one which excited much interest, as may well be imagined, among the younger portion of theatrical spectators.

There is high satisfaction in observing, that the age showed itself worthy of the immortal genius whom it had produced and fostered. It is agreed on all hands that Shakspeare was beloved as a man, and admired and patronized as a poet. In the profession of an actor, indeed, his success does not appear to have been conspicuous; but the never-failing attraction of his pieces brought overflowing audiences to the Globe theatre in Southwark, of which he was enabled to become a joint proprietor. Lord Southampton is said to have once bestowed on him a munificent donation of a thousand pounds to enable him to complete a purchase; and it is probable that this nobleman might also introduce him to the notice of his beloved friend the earl of Essex. Of any particular gratuities bestowed on him by her majesty we are not informed: but there is every reason to suppose that he must have received from her on various occasions both praises

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and remuneration; for we are told that she caused several of his pieces to be represented before her; and that the Merry Wives of Windsor, in particular, owed its origin to her desire of seeing Falstaff exhibited in love.

It remains to notice the principal enactments of Elizabeth respecting the conduct of the theatre; some of which are remarkable. During the early part of her reign; — Sunday being still regarded principally in the light of a holiday; — her majesty not only selected that day, more frequently than any other, for the representation of plays at court for her own amusement, but by her license granted to Burbage in 1574 authorized the performance of them at the public theatre, *on Sundays only*, out of the hours of prayer. Five years after, however, Gosson, in his School of Abuse, complains, that the players, "because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make four or five Sundays at least every week." To limit this abuse, an order was issued by the council in July 1591, purporting that no plays should be publicly exhibited on Thursdays; because on that day bear-baiting and similar pastimes had usually been practised: and in an injunction to the lord mayor four days after, the representation of plays on Sunday (or the Sabbath as it now began to be called among the stricter sort of people) was utterly condemned; and it was further complained that on "all other days of the week in divers places the players do use to recite their plays, to the great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting and like pastimes; which are maintained for her majesty's pleasure."

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In the year 1589 her majesty thought proper to appoint commissioners to inspect all performances of writers for the stage, with full powers to reject and obliterate whatever they might esteem unmannerly, licentious, or irreverent: — a regulation which might seem to claim the applause of every friend to public decency, were not the state in which the dramas of this age have come down to posterity sufficient evidence, that to render these impressive appeals to the passions of assembled multitudes politically, and not morally, inoffensive, was the genuine or principal motive of this act of power.

In illustration of this remark the following passage may be quoted: "At supper" the queen "would divert herself with her friends and attendants; and if they made her no answer, she would put them upon mirth and pleasant discourse with great civility. She would then admit Tarleton, a famous comedian and pleasant talker, and other such men, to divert her with stories of the town and the common jests and accidents. Tarleton, who was then the best comedian in England, had made a pleasant play; and when it was acting before the queen, he pointed at Raleigh, and said "See the knave commands the queen!" for which he was corrected by a frown from the queen: yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much and too intolerable a power; and going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the too great power of the earl of Leicester: which was so universally applauded by all present, that she thought fit to bear these reflections with a seeming uncon-

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cernedness. But yet she was so offended, that she forbad Tarleton and all jesters from coming near her table." [a]

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[a] *Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth.* — Among the various sources whence the preceding dramatic notices have been derived, it is proper to point out Dr. Drake's Memoirs of Shakspeare and his age, and Warton's History of English Poetry.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM 1593 TO 1597.

A parliament. — Haughty language of the queen. — Committal of Wentworth and other members — of Morice. — His letter to lord Burleigh. — Act to retain subjects in their due obedience. — Debates on the subsidy. — Free speeches of Francis Bacon and sir E. Hobby. — Queen's speech. — Notice of Francis Bacon — of Anthony Bacon. — Connexion of the two Bacons with Essex. — Francis disappointed of preferment. — Conduct of Burleigh towards him. — Of Fulk Greville. — Reflections. — Conversion of Henry IV. — Behaviour of Elizabeth. — War in Bretagne. — Anecdote of the queen and sir C. Blount. — Affair of Dr. Lopez. — Squire's attempt on the life of the queen. — Notice of Ferdinando earl of Derby. — Letter of the queen to lord Willoughby. — Particulars of sir Walter Raleigh. — His expedition to Guiana. — Unfortunate enterprise of Drake and Hawkins. — Death of Hawkins. — Death and character of Drake. — Letters of Rowland Whyte. — Case of the earl of Hertford. — Anecdote of Essex. — Queen at the lord-keeper's. — Anecdote of the queen and Bishop Rudd. — Case of sir T. Arundel.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the frugal arts of Elizabeth, the state of her finances compelled her in the spring of 1593 to summon a parliament. It was four entire years since this assembly had last met: but her majesty took care to let the commons know, that the causes of offence which had then occurred were still fresh in her memory; and that her resolution to preserve her own prerogative in

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its rigor, and the ecclesiastical commission in all its terrors, was still inflexible.

It even appeared, that an apprehension lest her present necessities might embolden the parliament to treat her despotic mandates with a deference less profound than they had formerly exhibited, irritated her temper and prompted her to assume a more haughty and menacing style than her habitual study of popularity had hitherto permitted her to employ. In answer to the three customary requests made by the speaker, for liberty of speech, freedom from arrests, and access to her person; she replied by her lord-keeper, that such liberty of speech as the commons were justly entitled to, — liberty, namely, of aye and no, — she was willing to grant; but by no means a liberty for every one to speak what he listed. And if any idle heads should be found careless enough of their own safety to attempt innovations in the state, or reforms in the church, she laid her injunctions on the speaker to refuse the bills offered for such purposes till they should have been examined by those who were better qualified to judge of these matters. She promised that she would not impeach the liberty of their persons, provided they did not permit themselves to imagine that any neglect of duty would be allowed to pass unpunished under shelter of this privilege; and she engaged not to deny them access to her person on weighty affairs and at convenient seasons; when she should have leisure from other important business of state.

But threats alone were not found sufficient to restrain all attempts on the part of the commons to

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exercise their known rights and fulfil their duty to the country. Peter Wentworth, a member whose courageous and independent spirit had already drawn upon him repeated manifestations of royal displeasure, presented to the lord-keeper a petition, praying that the upper house would join with the lower in a supplication to the queen for fixing the succession. Elizabeth, enraged at the bare mention of a subject so offensive to her, instantly committed to the Fleet prison Wentworth, sir Thomas Bromley who had seconded him, and two other members to whom he had imparted the business; and when the house were preparing to petition her for their release, some privy counsellors dissuaded them from the step, as one which could only prove injurious to these gentleman by giving additional offence to her majesty.

Soon after James Morice, member for Colchester, an eminent lawyer, who was attorney of the court of Wards and chancellor of the Duchy, made a motion for redress of the abuses in the bishops' courts; and especially of the enormous ones committed under the High Commission. Several members supported the motion; but the queen, sending in wrath for the speaker, required him to deliver up the bill to her; reminded him of her strict injunctions at the opening of the sessions, and testified her extreme indignation and surprise at the boldness of the commons in intermeddling with subjects which she had expressly forbidden them to discuss. She informed him, that it lay in her power to summon parliaments and to dismiss them; and to sanction or to reject

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any determination of theirs; that she had at present called them together for the twofold purpose of enacting further laws for the maintenance of religious conformity; and of providing for the national defence against Spain; and that these ought therefore to be the objects of their deliberations.

As for Morice, he was seized by a serjeant at arms in the house itself, suspended from his office, rendered incapable of practising as a lawyer and committed to prison; whence he soon after addressed to Burleigh the following high-minded appeal:

"Right honorable my very good lord,

"That I am no more hardly handled, I impute next unto God to your honorable good will and favor; for although I am assured that the cause I took in hand is good and honest, yet I believe that, besides your lordship and that honorable person your son, I have never an honorable friend. But no matter; for the best causes seldom find the most friends, especially having many, and those mighty, enemies.

"I see no cause in my conscience to repent me of that I have done, nor to be dismayed, although grieved by this my restraint of liberty; for I stand for the maintenance of the honor of God and of my prince, and for the preservation of public justice and the liberties of my country against wrong and oppression; being well content, at her majesty's good pleasure and commandment, (whom I beseech God long to preserve in all princely feli-

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city,) to suffer and abide much more. But I had thought that the judges ecclesiastical, being charged in the great council of the realm to be dishonorers of God and of her majesty; perverters of law and public justice; and wrong-doers unto the liberties and freedoms of all her majesty's subjects, by their extorted oaths, wrongful imprisonments, lawless subscription and unjust absolutions; would rather have sought means to be cleared of this weighty accusation, than to shroud themselves under the suppressing of the complaint and shadow of mine imprisonment.

"There is fault found with me that I, as a private person, preferred not my complaint to her majesty. Surely, my lord, your wisdom can conceive what a proper piece of work I had then made of that: the worst prison had been I think too good for me, since now (sustaining the person of a public counsellor of the realm speaking for her majesty's prerogatives, which by oath I am bound to assist and maintain) I cannot escape displeasure and restraint of liberty. Another fault, or error, is objected; in that I preferred these causes before the matters delivered from her majesty were determined. My good lord, to have stayed so long, I verily think, had been to come too late. Bills of assize of bread, shipping of fish, pleadings and such like, may be offered and received into the house, and no offence to her majesty's royal commandment; (being but as the tything of mint;) but the great causes of the law and public justice may not be touched without offence. Well, my good lord, be it so; yet I hope her majesty and

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you of her honorable privy-council will at length thoroughly consider of these things, lest, as heretofore we prayed, From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, good Lord deliver us; we be compelled to say, From the tyranny of the clergy of England, good Lord deliver us.

"Pardon my plain speech, I humbly beseech your honor, for it proceedeth from an upright heart and sound conscience, although in a weak and sickly body; and by God's grace, while life doth last; which I hope now, after so many cracks and crazes, will not be long; I will not be ashamed in good and lawful sort to strive for the freedom of conscience, public justice, and the liberty of my country. And you, my good lord, to whose hand the stern of this commonwealth is chiefly committed, I humbly beseech, (as I doubt not but you do,) graciously respect both me and the causes I have preferred; and be a mean to pacify and appease her majesty's displeasure conceived against me her poor, yet faithful, servant and subject."[a]

In October following, the earl of Essex ventured to mention to her majesty this persecuted patriot amongst lawyers qualified for the post of attorney-general; when "her majesty acknowledged his gifts, but said his speaking against her in such manner as he had done, should be a bar against any preferment at her hands." He is said to have been kept for some years a prisoner in Tilbury castle; he recovered his liberty, however, be-

[a] *Burleigh Papers.*

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fore his death, which took place at his own mansion, Ongar Castle, in February 1597, in his 59th year.

The house of commons, unacquainted as yet with its own strength, submitted without further question to regard as law the will of an imperious mistress; and passed, with little opposition, "An act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience," which vied in cruelty with the noted Six Articles of her tyrannical father.

By this law, any person above sixteen who should refuse during a month to attend the established worship was to be imprisoned; when, should he further persist in his refusal during three months longer, he must abjure the realm; but in case of his rejecting this alternative, or returning from banishment, his offence was declared felony without benefit of clergy.

The business of supplies was next taken into consideration; and the commons voted two subsidies and four fifteenths; but this not appearing to the ministry sufficient for the exigencies of the state, the peers were induced to request a conference with the lower house, for the purpose of proposing the augmentation of the grant to four subsidies and six fifteenths. The commons resented at first this interference with their acknowledged privilege of originating all money bills; but dread of the well known consequences of offending their superiors, prevailed at length over their indignation; the conference was first acceded to and then the additional supply. Some debate, however, arose on the time to be allowed for the payment of so heavy an imposition; and the illustrious Francis

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Bacon, then member for Middlesex, enlarged upon the distresses of the people, and the danger lest the house, by this grant, should be establishing a precedent against themselves and their posterity, in a speech which his courtly kinsman sir Robert Cecil replied to with much warmth; and of which her majesty showed a resentful remembrance on his appearing soon after as a candidate for the office of attorney-general. His cousin sir Edward Hobby also, whose speeches in the former parliament had been ill-received by certain great persons, took such a part in some of the questions now at issue between the crown and the commons as procured him an imprisonment till the end of the sessions, when he was at length liberated; "but not," as Anthony Bacon wrote to his mother, "without a notable public disgrace laid upon him by her majesty's royal censure delivered amongst other things, by herself, after my lord keeper's speech."[a]

In this parting harangue to her parliament, the queen, little touched by the unprecedented liberality of the supplies which it had granted her, and the passing of her favorite bill against the schismatics and recusants, animadverted in severe terms on the oppositionists; reiterated the lofty claims with which she had opened the sessions; and pronounced an eulogium on the justice and moderation of her own government. She also entered into the grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain; showed herself undismayed by the apprehension of any thing which his once dreaded power could at-

[a] *Birch's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 96.

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tempt against her ; and characteristically added, in adverting to the defeat of the armada, the following energetic warning : " I am informed, that when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance. But I swear unto you by God, if I knew those persons, or may know hereafter, I will make them know what it is to be fearful in so urgent a cause."

The appearance of Francis Bacon in the house of commons affords a fit occasion of tracing the previous history of this wonderful man ; and of explaining his peculiar situation between the two great factions of the court ; and the influence exerted by this circumstance on his character and after fortunes. That early promise of his genius which in childhood attracted the admiring observation of Elizabeth herself, had been confirmed by every succeeding year. In the thirteenth of his age, an earlier period than was even then customary, he was entered, together with his elder brother Anthony, of Trinity College, Cambridge. At this seat of learning he remained three years, during which, besides exhibiting his powers of memory and application by great proficiency in the ordinary studies of the place, he evinced the extraordinary precocity of his penetrating and original intellect, by forming the first sketch of a new system of philosophy in opposition to that of Aristotle.

His father, designing him for public life, now sent him to complete his education in the house of sir Amias Paulet, the queen's ambassador in France.

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He gained the confidence of this able and honorable man to such a degree, as to be intrusted by him with a mission to her majesty requiring secrecy and dispatch, of which he acquitted himself with great applause. Returning to France, he made several excursions through its different provinces; and diligently occupied himself in the collection of facts and observations, which he afterwards threw together in a "Brief View of the State of Europe;" a work, however juvenile, which is said to exhibit much both of the peculiar spirit and of the method of its illustrious author. But the death of his father in 1580, put an end to his travels and cast a melancholy blight upon his opening prospects.

For Anthony Bacon, the eldest of his sons by his second marriage, the lord keeper had handsomely provided by the gift of his manor of Gorhambury; and he had amassed a considerable sum with which he was about to purchase another estate for the portion of the younger, when death interrupted his design; and only one-fifth of this money falling to Francis under the provisions of his father's will, he unexpectedly found himself compelled to resort to the practice of some gainful profession for his support. That of the law naturally engaged his preference. He entered himself of Gray's Inn; and passed within its precincts several studious years, during which he made himself master of the general principles of jurisprudence, as well as of the rules of legal practice in his own country; and he also found leisure to trace the outlines of his new philosophy in a work not now known to exist

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in a separate state, but incorporated probably in one of his more finished productions. In 1588 her majesty, desirous perhaps of encouraging him to a more entire devotion of his talents to the study of the law, appointed him her counsel extraordinary, — an office of little emolument, though valuable as an introduction to practice. But the genius of Bacon disdained to plod in the trammels of a laborious profession; he felt that it was given him for higher and larger purposes: yet perceiving, at the same time, that the narrowness of his circumstances would prove an insuperable bar to his ambition of becoming, as he once beautifully expressed it, "the servant of posterity," he thus, in 1591 solicited the patonage of his uncle lord Burleigh: "Again, the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me; for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful; yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get: Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends; for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring, in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. This, whether it be curiosity, or vain glory, or nature, or, if one take it favourably, *philanthropia*, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any

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reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than a man's own ; which is the thing I do greatly affect."

Burleigh was no philosopher, though a lover of learning; and it could not perhaps be expected that he should at once perceive how eminently worthy was this laborer of the hire which he was reduced to solicit. He contented himself, therefore, with procuring for his kinsman the reversion of the place of register of the Starchamber, worth about sixteen hundred pounds per annum. Of this lucrative office, however, it was unfortunately near twenty years before Bacon obtained possession; and during this tedious time of expectation, he was wont to say, " that it was like another man's ground abutting upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barn." He made, however, a grateful return to the lord treasurer for this instance of patronage, by composing an answer to a popish libel, entitled " A Declaration of the true Causes of the late Troubles ;" in which he warmly vindicated the conduct of this minister, of his own father, and of other members of the administration ; not forgetting to make a high eulogium on the talents and dispositions of Robert Cecil, — now the most powerful instrument at court to serve or to injure. Unhappily for the fortunes of Bacon, and in some respects for his moral character also, this selfish and perfidious statesman was endowed with sufficient reach of intellect to form some estimate of the transcendent abilities of his kinsman ; and struck with dread or envy, he seems to have formed a

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systematic design of impeding by every art his favor and advancement. Unmoved by the eloquent adulation with which Bacon sought to propitiate his regard, he took all occasions to represent him to the queen, and with some degree, certainly, of justice, though more of malice, as a man of too speculative a turn to apply in earnest to the practical details of business; one moreover whose head was so filled with abstract and philosophical notions, that he would not fail to perplex any public affairs in which he might be permitted to take a lead. The effect of these suggestions on the mind of Elizabeth was greatly aggravated by the conduct of Bacon in the parliament of 1593; in consequence of which her majesty for a considerable time denied him that access to her person with which he had hitherto been freely and graciously indulged.

Some years before this period, Francis Bacon had become known to the earl of Essex; whose genuine love of merit induced him to offer him his friendship and protection. The eagerness with which these overtures were accepted had deeply offended the Cecils; and their displeasure was about this time increased on seeing Anthony Bacon, by his brother's persuasion, enlist himself under the banner of the same political leader.

Anthony, whose singular history is on many accounts worthy of notice, was a man of an inquisitive and crafty turn of mind, and seemingly born for a politician. He, like his brother, had been induced to pay a visit to France, as the completion of a liberal education, and not finding himself involved in the same pecuniary difficulties, he had been en-

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abled to make an abode in that country of much longer duration. From Paris, which he first visited in 1579, he proceeded to Bourges, Geneva, Montpelier, Marseilles, Montauben, and Bordeaux, in each of which cities he resided for a considerable length of time. At Bordeaux he rendered some services to the protestant inhabitants at great personal hazard. In 1584 he visited Henry IV., then king of Navarre, at Bearn; and in 1586 he contracted at Montauban an intimacy with the celebrated Hugonot leader, du Plessis de Mornay. As Anthony Bacon was invested with no public character, his continued and voluntary abode in a catholic country began at length to excite a suspicion in the mind of his mother, his friends, and the queen herself, that his conduct was influenced by some secret bias towards the Romish faith; —an impression which received confirmation from the intimacies which he cultivated with several English exiles and pensioners of the king of Spain. This opinion appears, however, to have been unfounded. It was often by the express, though secret, request of Burleigh that he formed these connexions; and he had frequently supplied this minister with important articles of intelligence procured from such persons, with whom it was by no means unusual to perform the office of spy to England and to Spain alternately, or even to both at the same time. At length the urgency of his friends and the clamors of his mother, whose protestant zeal, setting a sharper edge on a temper naturally keen, prompted her to employ expressions of great violence; —compelled him, after many delays, to quit the

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continent; and in the beginning of 1592 he returned to his native country. His miserable state of health, from the gout and other disorders which rendered him a cripple for life, prevented his encountering the fatigues of the usual court attendance: yet he lost no time in procuring a seat in parliament; and his close connexion with the Cecils, joined to the opinion entertained of his political talents, seem to have excited a general expectation of his rising to high importance in the state. But he was not long in discovering, that for some unknown reason the lord treasurer was little his friend; and offended at the coolness with which his secret intelligence from numerous foreign correspondents was received by this minister and his son, in their joint capacity of secretaries of state, he was easily prevailed upon to address himself to Essex.

The earl had by this time learned, that there was no surer mode of recommending himself to her majesty and persuading her of his extraordinary zeal for her service, than to provide her with a constant supply of authentic and early intelligence from the various countries of Europe on which she kept a vigilant and jealous eye. He was accordingly occupied in establishing news-agents in every quarter; and the opportune offers of Anthony Bacon were accepted by him with the utmost eagerness. A connexion was immediately established between them, which ripened with time into so confidential an intimacy, that in 1595 the earl prevailed on Mr. Bacon to accept of apartments in Essex-house; which he continued to occupy till commanded by

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her majesty to quit them, immediately before the last rash enterprise of his patron.

Struck with the boundless affection manifested by Anthony towards his brother, with whom he had established an entire community of interests, Essex now espoused with more warmth than ever the cause of Francis. He strained every nerve to gain for him, in 1592, the situation of attorney-general; but Burleigh opposed the appointment; Robert Cecil openly expressed to the earl his surprise that he should seek to procure it for a "raw youth;" and her majesty declared that, after the manner in which Francis Bacon had stood up against her in parliament, admission to her presence was the only favor to which he ought to aspire. She added that in her father's time such conduct would have been sufficient to banish a man the court for life. Lowering his tone, Essex afterwards sought for his friend the office of solicitor-general; but the same prejudices and antipathies still thwarted him: and finding all his efforts vain to establish him in any public station of honor or emolument, he nobly compensated his disappointment and relieved his necessities by the gift of an estate.

The spirit of Bacon was neither a courageous nor a lofty one. He too soon repented of his generous exertions in the popular cause; and sought to atone for them by so entire a submission of himself to her majesty, accompanied with such eloquent professions of duty, humility, and profound respect, that we can scarcely doubt that a word of solicitation from the lips of Burleigh might have gained him an easy pardon. It is painful to think that any

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party jealousies, or any compliance with the malignant passions of his son, should so have poisoned the naturally friendly and benevolent disposition of this aged minister, that he could bear to withhold the offices of kindness from the nephew of his late beloved wife, and the son of one of his nearest friends and most cordial coadjutors in public life. But according to the maxims of court-factions this desertion of the Bacons by their nearest connections might be justified; — they had made their election, and it was the patronage of Essex which they preferred. Experience taught them too late, that for their own interests they had chosen wrong. Since the death of Leicester, the Cecils had possessed all the real power at the court of Elizabeth: they and they only could advance their adherents. Essex, it is true, through the influence which he exerted over the imagination or the affections of the queen, could frequently obtain grants to himself of real importance, and great pecuniary value. But her majesty's singular caprice of temper rendered her jealous of every mark of favor, extorted from the tender weakness of her heart; and she almost appears to have made it a rule to compensate every act of bounty towards himself, by some sensible mortification which she made him suffer in the person of a friend. So little was his patronage the road to advancement, that sir Thomas Smith, clerk of the council, is recorded as the solitary instance of a man preferred out of his household to the service of her majesty; and Bacon himself somewhere says, speaking of the queen, "Against me she is never positive but to my lord of Essex."

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Fulk Greville was one of the few who did honor to themselves by becoming at this time the advocate of Francis Bacon with the queen; and his solicitations were heard by her with such apparent complacency, that he wrote to Bacon, that he would wager two to one on his chance of becoming attorney, or at least solicitor-general. But Essex was to be mortified, and the influence of this generous Mæcenas was exerted finally in vain. It is to his unfortunate choice of a patron then, joined to the indiscreet zeal with which that patron pleaded his cause in season and out of season, that we are to ascribe in part the neglect experienced by Bacon, during the reign of Elizabeth. But other causes concurred, which it may be interesting to trace, and which it would be unjust both to the queen and to Burleigh to pass over in silence.

At the period when Bacon first appealed to the friendship of the lord treasurer in the letter above cited, he was already in the thirty-first year of his age; and had borne for two years the character of queen's counsel extraordinary; but to the courts of law he was so entire a stranger, that it was not till one or two years afterwards that we find him pleading his first cause. It was pretty evident therefore in 1592, when he sought the office of attorney-general, that pecuniary necessity alone had made this appointment the object of his wishes; and his known inexperience in the practice of the law, might reasonably justify in the queen and her ministers some scruple of placing him in so responsible a post. As a philosopher indeed, no encouragement could exceed his deserts; but this

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was a character which very few even of the learned of that day were capable of appreciating. Physical science, disgraced by its alliance with the "blind experiments" of alchemy and the deluding dreams of judicial astrology, was in possession of few titles to the respect of mankind; and its professors, — credulous enthusiasts, for the most part, or designing impostors, — usually ended by bringing shame and loss on such persons as greedy hopes or vain curiosity bribed to become their patrons.

That general "Instauration" of the sciences which the mighty genius of Bacon had projected, was a scheme too vast and too profound to be comprehended by the minds of Elizabeth and her statesmen; and as it was not of a nature to address itself to their passions and interests, we must not wonder if they should have regarded it with indifference. At this period, too, it existed only in embryo; and so little was the public intellect prepared to seize the first hints thrown out by its illustrious author, that even many years afterwards, when his system had been produced to the world nearly in a state of maturity, the general sentiment seems pretty much to have corresponded with the judgement of king James, "that the philosophy of Bacon was like the peace of God, which passeth all understanding."

All these considerations, however, are scarcely sufficient to vindicate the boasted discernment of Elizabeth from disgrace, in having suffered the most illustrious sage of her reign and country, who was at the same time its brightest wit and most accomplished orator, known to her from his birth,

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and the son of a wise and faithful servant, whose memory she held in honor, — to languish in poverty and discouragement; useless to herself and to the public affairs and a burthen to his own thoughts.

The king of France found it expedient about this time to declare himself a convert to the church of Rome. For this change of religion, whether sincere or otherwise, he might plead, not only the personal motive of gaining possession of the throne of his inheritance; which seemed to be denied to him on other terms; but the patriotic one of rescuing his exhausted country from the miseries of a protracted civil war; and whatever might be the decision of a strict moralist on the case, it is certain that Elizabeth at least had small title to reprobate a compliance of which, under the reign of her sister, she had herself set the example. But the character of the protestant heroine, with which circumstances had invested her, obliged her to overlook this inconsistency; and as demonstrations cost her little, she not only indicted on the occasion a solemn letter of reproof to her ally, but actually professed herself so deeply wounded by his dereliction of principle, that it was necessary for her to tranquillize her mind by the perusal of many pious works and the study of Boethius on consolation; which she even undertook the task of translating. Essex, whom she honored with a sight of her performance, was adroit enough to suggest to the royal author, as a principal motive of his urgency with her to restore Francis Bacon to her favor, the earnest desire which he felt that her majesty's excellent translations should be viewed

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by one of those most capable of appreciating their merits.

The indignation of Elizabeth against Henry's apostasy was not so violent as to exclude the politic consideration, that it was still her interest to support the king of France against the king of Spain; and besides continuing her wonted supplies, she soon after entered into a new engagement with him, purporting that they should never make peace but by mutual consent.

Bretagne was still the scene of action to the English auxiliaries. Under sir John Norris, their able commander, they shared in the service of wresting from the Spaniards, by whom they had been garrisoned, the towns of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin and Brest; their valor was every where conspicuous; and the eagerness of the young courtiers of Elizabeth to share in the glory of these enterprises rose to a passion, which she sometimes thought it necessary to repress with a show at least of severity; as in the following instance related by Naunton.

"Sir Charles Blount, having twice or thrice stolen away into Bretagne (where under sir John Norris he had then a company) without the queen's leave and privity, she sent a messenger unto him, with a strict charge to the general to see him sent home. When he came into the queen's presence, she fell into a kind of reviling, demanding how he durst go over without her leave? 'Serve me so,' quoth she, 'once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running; you will never leave it until you are knocked on the head, as that inconsiderate

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fellow Sidney was. You shall go when I send you; and in the meantime see that you lodge in the court,' (which was then at Whitehall,) 'where you may follow your book, read, and discourse of the wars.' "

Philip II., unable to win glory or advantage against Elizabeth in open and honorable warfare, sought a base revenge upon her by offering, through secret agents, vast rewards to any who could be induced to attempt her life. It was no easy task to discover persons sufficiently rash, as well as wicked, to undertake, from motives purely mercenary, a villany of which the peril was so appalling; but at length, Fuentes and Ibarra, joint governors of the Netherlands, succeeded in bribing Dr. Lopez, domestic physician to the queen, to mingle poison with her medicine. Essex, whose watchfulness over the life of his sovereign was remarkable, whilst his intelligence was comparable in extent and accuracy to that of Walsingham himself, was the first to give notice of this atrocious plot. At his instance Lopez was apprehended, examined before himself, the treasurer, the lord-admiral, and Robert Cecil, and committed to custody in his house. But nothing decisive appearing on his first examination, Robert Cecil took occasion to represent the charge as groundless; and her majesty, sending in heat for Essex, called him "rash and temerarious youth," and reproached him for bringing, on slight grounds, so heinous a suspicion upon an innocent man. The earl, incensed to find his diligent service thus repaid, through the successful artifice of his enemy, quitted the presence in a

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paroxysm of rage; and, according to his practice on similar occasions, shut himself up in his chamber, which he refused to quit till the queen herself, two or three days afterwards, sent the lord-admiral to mediate a reconciliation.

Further interrogatories, mingled probably with menaces of the rack, brought Lopez to confess the fact of his having received the king of Spain's bribe; but he persisted in denying that it was ever in his thoughts to perpetrate the crime. This subterfuge did not, however, save him from an ignominious death, which he shared with two other persons whom Fuentes and Ibarra had hired for a similar undertaking.

The Spanish court disdained to return any satisfactory answer to the complaints of Elizabeth respecting these designs against her life; but either shame, or more likely the fear of reprisals, seems to have deterred it from the repetition of experiments so perilous.

About two years afterwards, however, an English Jesuit named Walpole,—who was settled in Spain, and intimately connected with the noted father Parsons,—instigated an attempt worthy of notice, partly as a curious instance of the exaggerated ideas then prevalent of the force of poisons. In the last voyage of Drake to the West Indies, a small vessel of his was captured and carried into a port of Spain, on board of which was one Squire, formerly a purveyor for the queen's stables. With this prisoner Walpole, as a diligent servant of his church, undertook to make himself acquainted; and finding him a resolute fellow, and of capacity

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and education above his rank, he spared no pains to convert him to popery. This step gained, he diligently plied him with his jesuitical arguments; and so thoroughly persuaded him of the duty and merit of promoting by any kind of means the overthrow of heresy, that Squire at length consented to bind himself by a solemn vow to make an attempt against the life of Elizabeth in the mode which should be pointed out to him: — an enterprise, as he was assured, which would be attended with little personal danger; and, in case of the worst, would assuredly be recompensed by an immediate admission into the joys of heaven.

Having thus far prevailed, the worthy father presented to his disciple a packet of some poisonous preparation, which he enjoined him to take an opportunity of spreading on the pommel of the queen's saddle. The queen in mounting would transfer the ointment to her hand; with her hand she was likely to touch her mouth or nostrils; and such, as he averred, was the virulence of the poison, that certain death must follow.

Squire returned to England, and enlisted for the Cadiz expedition; and on the eve of its sailing took the preparation and disposed of it as directed. Desirous of adding to his merits, he found means during the voyage to anoint in like manner the arms of the earl of Essex's chair. The failure of the application in both instances greatly surprised him. To the Jesuit it appeared so unaccountable, that he was persuaded that Squire had deceived him; and actuated at once by the desire of punishing his defection and the fear of his betraying such secrets of

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the party as had been confided to him, he consummated his villany by artfully conveying to the English government an intimation of the plot. Squire was apprehended; and at first denied all: "but by good counsel and the truth working withal," according to Speed's expression, was brought to confess what could not otherwise have been proved against him, and suffered penitently for his offence. Our chronicler admires the providence which interfered for the protection of her majesty in this great peril, and compares it to the miraculous preservation of St. Paul from the bite of the viper.

The Jesuits are supposed to have employed more efficacious means for the destruction of Ferdinando earl of Derby, who died in April, 1594. This nobleman had the misfortune to be grandson of Eleanor countess of Cumberland, the younger daughter of Mary queen-dowager of France, and sister of Henry VIII., by her second husband Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk; and although the children of lady Catherine Grey countess of Hertford obviously stood before him in this line of succession, occasion was taken by the Romish party from this descent to urge him to assume the title of king of England. One Hesket, a zealous agent of the Jesuits and popish fugitives, was employed to tamper with the earl of Derby: on one hand he undertook that his claim should be supported by powerful succours from abroad, and on the other menaced him with certain and speedy death in case of his rejecting the proposal or betraying its authors. But the earl was too loyal to hesitate a

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moment. He revealed the whole plot to the government; and Hesket on his information was convicted of treason and suffered death. Not long after, the earl was suddenly seized with a violent disorder of the bowels, which in a few days carried him off; and on the first day of his illness, his gentleman of the horse took his lord's best saddle-horse and fled. These circumstances might be thought pretty clearly to indicate poison as the means of his untimely end; but although a suspicion of its employment was entertained by some, the event appears to have been more generally ascribed to witchcraft. An examination being instituted, a waxen image was discovered in his chamber with a hair of the color of the earl's drawn through the body; also, an old woman in the neighbourhood, a reputed witch, being required to recite after a prompter the Lord's Prayer in Latin, was observed to blunder repeatedly in the same words. But these proofs, however cogent, not being deemed absolutely conclusive, the poor old woman was apparently suffered to escape:—after the gentleman of the horse, or his instigators, we do not find that any search was made.

The mother of this earl of Derby died two years after. At one period of her life we find her much in favor with the queen, whom she was accustomed to attend in quality of first lady of the blood-royal; but she had subsequently excited her majesty's suspicions by her imprudent consultations of fortune-tellers and diviners;—on the delicate subject, doubtless, of succession to the crown.

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The animosity between Elizabeth and her savage adversary the king of Spain was continually becoming more fierce and inveterate. Undeterred by former failures, Philip was thought to meditate a fresh invasion either of England or Ireland; which latter country was besides in so turbulent a state, from the insurrections of native chieftains, that it had been found necessary to send over sir John Norris as general of Ulster, with a strong reinforcement of veterans from the Low Countries. The queen, on her part, was well prepared to resist and retaliate all attacks. The spirit of the nation was thoroughly roused; gallant troops and able officers formed in the Flemish school of glory, or under the banners of the Bourbon hero, burned with impatience for the signal to revenge the wrongs of their queen and country on their great and implacable enemy. Still, the conflict threatened to be an arduous one: Elizabeth felt all its difficulties; and loth to lose the support of one of her bravest and most popular captains, she addressed the following letter of recall to Lord Willoughby, who had repaired to Spa ostensibly for the recovery of his health; really, perhaps, in resentment of some injury inflicted by a venal and treacherous court, of which his noble nature scorned alike the intrigues and the servility.

"Good Peregrine;

"We are not a little glad that by your journey you have received such good fruit of amendment, especially when we consider how great a vexation it is to a mind devoted to actions of honor, to be

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restrained by any indisposition of body from following those courses which, to your own reputation and our great satisfaction, you have formerly performed. And, therefore, we must now (out of our desire of your well-doing) chiefly enjoin you to an especial care to increase and continue your health, which must give life to all your best endeavours; so we next as seriously recommend to you this consideration; that in these times, when there is such an appearance that we shall have the trial of our best and noble subjects, you seem not to effect the satisfaction of your own private contentation, beyond the attending on that which nature and duty challengeth from all persons of your quality and profession. For if unnecessarily, your health of body being recovered, you should elloign yourself by residence there from those employments whereof we shall have too good store, you shall not so much amend the state of your body, as haply you shall call in question the reputation of your mind and judgement; even in the opinion of those that love you, and are best acquainted with your disposition and discretion.

"Interpret this our plainness, we pray you, to an extraordinary estimation of you, for it is not common with us to deal so freely with many; and believe that you shall ever find us both ready and willing, on all occasions, to yield you the fruits of that interest which your endeavours have purchased for you in our opinion and estimation. Not doubting but when you have with moderation made trial of the successes of these your sundry peregrinations, you will find as great comfort to spend your

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days at home as heretofore you have done; of which we do wish you full measure, howsoever you shall have cause of abode or return. Given under our signet at our manor of Nonesuch, the 7th of October, 1594, in the 37th year of our reign.

"Your most loving sovereign,
"E. R."

We do not perceive the effects of this letter in the employment of lord Willoughby in any of the expeditions against Spain which ensued; but he was afterwards appointed governor of Berwick, and held that situation till his death in 1601.

Sir Walter Raleigh, that splendid genius with an earthly soul, whom a romantic spirit of adventure and a devouring thirst of gain equally stimulated to activity, had unexpectedly found his advancement at court impeded, after the first steps, usually accounted the most difficult, had been speedily and fortunately surmounted. Several conspiring causes might be assigned for this check in his career of fortune. His high pretensions to the favor of the queen, joined to his open adherence to the party of sir Robert Cecil, had provoked the hostility of Essex; who, in defiance of him, is said, at one of the ostentatious tournaments of the day, to have "filled the tilt-yard with two thousand orange-tawny feathers;" the distinction, doubtless, of his followers and retainers: he had incurred the resentment of more than one of the order of bishops by his ceaseless and shameless solicitations of grants and leases out of the pro-

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perty of the church: in Ireland he had rendered sir William Russell the lord-deputy his enemy by various demonstrations of opposition and rivalry; at court, his abilities and his first rapid successes with her majesty had stirred up against him the envy of a whole host of competitors. Elizabeth, who for the best reasons had an extreme dislike to any manifestations of a mercenary disposition in her servants, had been disgusted by the frequency and earnestness of his petitions for pecuniary favors. "When, sir Walter," she once exclaimed, "will you cease to be a beggar?" He replied; "When your gracious majesty ceases to be a benefactor." So dexterous an answer appeased her for a time; and the profusion of eloquent adulation with which he never failed to soothe her ear, engaged her self-love strongly in his behalf. But to complete the ill fortune of Raleigh, father Parsons—provoked by the earnestness with which he had urged in parliament the granting of supplies for a war offensive and defensive against Spain—had published a pamphlet charging him with atheism and impiety; which had not only found welcome reception with his enemies, but with the people, to whom he was ever obnoxious, and had even raised a prejudice against him in the mind of his sovereign. On this subject, a writer contemporary with the later years of Raleigh thus expresses himself:—

"Sir Walter Raleigh was the first, as I have heard, that ventured to tack about and sail aloof from the beaten track of the schools; who, upon the discovery of so apparent an error as

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a torrid zone, intended to proceed in an inquisition after more solid truths; till the mediation of some whose livelihood lay in hammering shrines for this superannuated study possessed queen Elizabeth that such doctrine was against God, no less than her father's honor; whose faith, if he owed any, was grounded upon school-divinity. Whereupon she chid him, who was, by his own confession, ever after branded with the name of an atheist, though a known assertor of God and providence."[a]

The business of Mrs. Throgmorton, and the disputes arising out of the sale of the captured carrack, succeeded, to inflame still more the ill humour of the queen; and Raleigh, finding every thing adverse to him at court, resolved to quit the scene for a time, in the hope of returning with better omens, when absence and dangers should again have endeared him to his offended mistress; and when the splendor of his foreign successes should have enabled him to impose silence on the clamors of malignity at home.

The interior of the pathless wilds of Guiana had been reported to abound in those exhaustless mines of the precious metals which filled the imaginations of the earliest explorers of the New World, and appeared, to their ignorant cupidity, the only important objects of research and acquisition, in regions where the eye of political wisdom would have discerned so many superior inducements to

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[a] *Osborne's Introduction to his Essays.*

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colonization or to conquest. The fabulous city of El Dorado — which became for some time proverbial in our language to express the utmost profusio nand magnificence of wealth — was placed by the romantic narrations of voyagers somewhere in the centre of this vast country; and nothing could be more flattering to the mania of the age than the project of exploring its hidden treasures. Raleigh conceived this idea; the court and the city vied in eagerness to share the profits of the enterprise; a squadron was speedily fitted out, notwithstanding the greatness of the expense; and in February, 1595, the ardent leader weighed anchor from the English shore. Proceeding first to Trinidad, he possessed himself of the town of St. Joseph; then, with the numerous pinnaces of his fleet, he entered the mouth of the great river Oronoco, and sailing upwards penetrated far into the bosom of the country. But the intense heat of the climate, and the difficulties of this unknown navigation, compelled him to return without any more valuable result of his enterprise than that of taking formal possession of the land in her majesty's name. Raleigh, however, took care to keep up the general interest which had been excited on the subject, by publishing, soon after, an account of Guiana, chiefly copied from the exaggerated relations of the Spanish adventurers.

A still more unfortunate result awaited an expedition of greater consequence, which sailed during the same year, under Hawkins and Drake, against the settlements of Spanish America. Repeated attacks had at length taught the Spaniards to stand on

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their defence; and the English were first repulsed from Porto Rico; and afterwards obliged to relinquish the attempt of marching across the isthmus of Darien to Panama. But the great and irreparable misfortune of the enterprise was the loss, first of the gallant sir John Hawkins, the kinsman and early patron of Drake; and afterwards of that great navigator himself, who fell a victim to the torrid climate, and to fatigue and mortification which conspired to render it fatal. A person of such eminence, whose great actions reflect back so bright a lustre on the reign which supplied him with the most glorious occasions of distinguishing himself in the service of his country, must not be dismissed from the scene in silence.

The character of Francis Drake was remarkable, not alone for those qualities which are necessarily implied in the history of his exploits, valor, industry, capacity, and enterprise, but for virtues founded on principle and reflection, which render it in a high degree the object of respect and moral approbation. It is true that his aggressions on the Spanish settlements were originally founded on a vague notion of reprisals, not perfectly consistent either with public law or private equity. But with the exception of this error, — which may find considerable palliation in the education and profession of the man, the prevalent opinions of the day, and the peculiar animosity against Philip II., cherished in the bosom of every protestant Englishman, — the conduct of Drake appears to demand almost unqualified commendation. It was by sobriety, by diligence in the concerns of his employers, and by

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a tried integrity, that he early raised himself from the humble station of an ordinary seaman to the command of a vessel. When placed in authority over others, he showed himself humane and considerate; his treatment of his prisoners was exemplary, his veracity unimpeached, his private life religiously pure and spotless. In the division of the rich booty which often rewarded his valor and his toils, he was liberal towards his crews, and scrupulously just to the owners of his vessels; and in the appropriation of his own share of wealth, he displayed that munificence towards the public, of which, since the days of Roman glory, history has recorded few examples.

With the profits of one of his earliest voyages, in which he captured the town of Venta Cruz, and made prize of a string of fifty mules laden with silver, he fitted out three stout frigates, and sailed with them to Ireland, where he served as a volunteer under Walter earl of Essex, and performed many brilliant actions. After the capture of a rich Spanish carrack at the Terceras in 1587, he undertook at his own expense to bring to the town of Plymouth, which he represented in parliament, a supply of spring-water, of which there was a great deficiency in the place; and this he accomplished by means of a canal or aqueduct above twenty miles in length.

Drake incurred some blame in the expedition to Portugal for failing to bring his ships up the river to Lisbon, according to his promise to sir John Norris, the general; but on explaining the case before the council on his return, he

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was entirely acquitted by them; having made it appear that, under all the circumstances, to have carried the fleet up the Tagus would have been to expose it to damage, without the possibility of any benefit to the service. By his enemies, this great man was stigmatised as vain and boastful; a venial infirmity in one who had achieved so much by his own unassisted genius, and which the great flow of natural eloquence which he possessed may at once have produced and rendered excusable. One trait appears to indicate that he was ambitious of a species of distinction which he might have regarded himself as entitled to despise. He had thought proper to assume, apparently without due authority, the armorial coat of sir Bernard Drake; also a seaman and a native of Devonshire: sir Bernard, from a false pride of family, highly resented this unwarrantable intrusion, as he regarded it; and in a dispute on the subject gave sir Francis a box on the ear. The queen on this deemed it necessary to interfere, and she granted to the illustrious navigator the following arms of her own device. *Sable, a fess wavy between two pole stars argent;* and for crest, *a ship on a globe under ruff*, with a cable held by a hand coming out of the clouds: the motto, *Auxilio divino;* and beneath, *Sic parvis magna;* in the rigging of the ship, *a wivern gules*, the arms of sir Bernard Drake, *hung up by the heels.*

Sir John Baskerville, who succeeded by the death of Drake to the command of the unfortunate expedition to which he had fallen a sacrifice, encountered the Spanish fleet off Cuba in an action,

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which, though less decisive on the English side than might have been hoped, left at least no ground of triumph to the enemy.

Meantime the court was by no means barren of incident; and we are fortunate in possessing a minute and authentic journal of its transactions in a series of letters addressed to sir Robert Sidney, governor of Flushing, by several of his friends, but chiefly by Rowland Whyte, a gentleman to whom, during his absence, he had recommended the care of his interests, and the task of transmitting to him whatever intelligence might appear either useful or entertaining.[a]

In October, 1595, Mr. Whyte mentions the following abominable instance of tyranny. That the earl of Hertford had been sent for by a messenger, and committed to custody in his own house, because it had appeared by a case found among the papers of a Dr. Aubrey, that he had formerly taken the opinions of civilians on the validity of his first marriage, and caused a record of it to be secretly put into the court of Arches. Whyte adds significantly, that the earl was accounted one of the wealthiest subjects in England. Soon after, his lordship was committed to the Tower; and it was said that orders were given that his son, who since the establishment of the marriage had borne the title of lord Beauchamp, should henceforth be again called Mr. Seymour. Several lawyers and other persons were also imprisoned for a short time about this matter; under what law, or pretext of

[a] *Sidney Papers, passim.*

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law, it would be vain to inquire. Lady Hertford, though a sister of the lord-admiral and nearly related to the queen, was for some time an unsuccessful suitor at court for the liberty of her lord. Her majesty, however, was graciously pleased to declare that "neither his life nor living should be called in question;" — as if both had been at her mercy! and though she would not consent to see the countess, she regularly sent her broths in a morning, and, at meals, meat from her own trencher; affecting, it should seem, in these trifles, to acquit herself of the promises of her special favor with which she had a few years before repaid the splendid hospitality of this noble pair. We do not learn how long the durance of the earl continued; but it is highly probable that he was once more compelled to purchase his liberty.

Great uneasiness was given about this time to the earl of Essex by a book written in defence of the king of Spain's title to the English crown, which contained "dangerous praises of his valor and worthiness," inserted for the express purpose of exciting the jealousy of the queen and bringing him into disgrace. The work was shown him by Elizabeth herself. On coming from her presence he was observed to look "pale and wan;" and going home he reported himself sick; — an expedient for working on the feelings of his sovereign, to which, notwithstanding the truth and honor popularly regarded as his characteristics, Essex is known to have frequently condescended. On this, as on most occasions, he found it successful: her majesty soon made him a consolatory visit; and in

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spite of the strenuous efforts of his enemies, this attempt to injure him only served to augment her affection, and root him more firmly in her confidence.

"Her majesty," says Whyte soon after, "is in very good health, and comes much abroad: upon Thursday she dined at Kew, at my lord-keeper's house, (who lately obtained of her majesty his suit for one hundred pounds a-year in fee-farm,) her entertainment for that meal was great and exceedingly costly. At her first 'lighting she had a fine fan garnished with diamonds, valued at four hundred pounds at least. After dinner, in her privy chamber, he gave her a fair pair of virginals. In her bedchamber he presented her with a fine gown and a juppin, which things were pleasing to her highness; and, to grace his lordship the more, she of herself took from him a fork, a spoon, and a salt, of fair agate." It must be confessed that this was a mode of "gracing" a courtier peculiarly consonant to the disposition of her majesty.

The further Elizabeth descended into the vale of years, the stronger were her efforts to make ostentation of a youthful gaiety of spirits and an unfailing alacrity in the pursuit of pleasure; though avarice, the vice of age, mingled strangely with these juvenile affectations. To remark to her the progress of time, was to wound her in the tenderest part; and not even from her ghostly counsellors would she endure a topic so offensive as the mention of her age. An anecdote to this effect belongs to the year 1596, and is found in

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the account of Rudd bishop of St. David's, given in Harrington's Brief View of the Church.

"There is almost none that waited in queen Elizabeth's court, and observed any thing, but can tell that it pleased her very much to seem, to be thought, and to be told that she looked, young. The majesty and gravity of a sceptre borne forty-four years could not alter that nature of a woman in her: this notwithstanding, this good bishop being appointed to preach before her in the Lent of the year 1596..... wishing in a godly zeal, as well became him, that she should think sometime of mortality, took a text fit for the purpose, on which he treated for a time 'well,' 'learnedly,' and 'respectively.' But when he had spoken awhile of some sacred and mystical numbers, as three for the Trinity, three for the heavenly Hierarchy, seven for the Sabbath, and seven times seven for a Jubilee; and, lastly, — seven times nine for the grand climacterical year; she, perceiving whereto it tended, began to be troubled with it. The bishop discovering that all was not well, for the pulpit stands there *vis a vis* to the closet, he fell to treat of some more plausible numbers, as of the number 666, making *Latinus*, with which he said he could prove the Pope to be Antichrist; also of the fatal number of 88, so long before spoken of for a dangerous year;..... but withal interlarding it with some passages of Scripture that touch the infirmities of age.... he concluded his sermon. The queen, as the manner was, opened the window; but she was so far from giving him thanks or good countenance, that she

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said plainly he should have kept his arithmetic for himself. 'But I see,' said she, 'the greatest clerks are not the wisest men;' and so went away for the time discontented.

"The lord-keeper Puckering, though reverencing the man much in his particular, yet for the present to assuage the queen's displeasure, *commanded him to keep his house for a time*, which he did. But of a truth her majesty showed no ill nature in this; for within three days she was not only displeased at his restraint, but in my hearing rebuked a lady yet living for speaking scornfully of him and his sermon. Only to show how the good bishop was deceived in supposing she was so decayed in her limbs and senses as himself, perhaps, and other of that age were wont to be, she said she thanked God that neither her stomach nor strength, nor her voice for singing, nor fingering instruments, nor, lastly, her sight, was any whit decayed; and to prove the last before us all, she produced a little jewel that had an inscription of very small letters, and offered it first to my lord of Worcester and then to Sir James Crofts to read; and both protested *bonâ fide* that they could not; yet the queen herself did find out the poesy, and made herself merry with the standers-by upon it."

A point of some importance to the peers of England was about this time brought to a final decision by the following circumstance. Sir Thomas Arundel, son and heir of sir Matthew Arundel of Wardour-castle, a young man of a courageous and enterprising disposition, going over to Germany,

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had been induced to engage as a volunteer in the wars of the emperor against the Turks; and in the assault of the city of Gran, in Hungary, had taken with his own hand a Turkish banner. For this and other good service, Rodolph the second had been pleased to confer upon him the honor of count of the holy Roman empire; extending, as usual, the title of counts and countesses to all his descendants for ever. On his return to England in the year following, the question arose whether this dignity, conferred by a foreign prince without the previous consent of his own sovereign, should entitle the bearer to rank, precedence, or any other privilege in this country.

The peers naturally opposed a concession which tended to lessen the value of their privileges, by rendering them accessible through foreign channels; and her majesty being called upon to settle the debate, pronounced the following judgement:—That the closest tie of affection subsisted between sovereigns and their subjects: that as chaste wives should fix their eyes upon their husbands alone, in like manner faithful subjects should only direct theirs towards the prince whom it had pleased God to set over them. And that she would not allow her sheep to be branded with the mark of a stranger, or be taught to follow the whistle of a foreign shepherd. And to this effect she wrote to the emperor, who by a special letter had recommended sir Thomas Arundel to her favor. The decision appears to have been reasonable and politic; and would at that time be regarded as

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peculiarly so in the instance of honors conferred on a catholic gentleman by a catholic prince. King James, however, created sir Thomas lord Arundel of Wardour; and he seems to have borne in common speech the title of count. [a]

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[a] *Camden's Annals. Peerage, by Sir E. Brydges.*

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CHAPTER XXV.

1595 TO 1598.

Essex and Cecil factions. — Expedition to Cadiz. — Robert Cecil appointed secretary. — Notice of sir T. Bodley. — Critical situation of Essex. — Francis Bacon addresses to him a letter of advice — composes speeches for him. — Notice of Toby Matthew. — Outrages in London repressed by martial law. — Death of lord Hunsdon — of the earl of Huntingdon — of bishop Fletcher. — Anecdote of bishop Vaughan. — Book on the queen's touching for the evil.

FROM about this period of the reign of Elizabeth, her court exhibited a scene of perpetual contest between the faction of the earl of Essex and that of lord Burleigh, or rather of Robert Cecil; and so widely did the effects of this intestine division extend, that there was perhaps scarcely a single court-attendant or public functionary whose interest did not become in some mode or other involved in the debate. Yet the quarrel itself may justly be regarded as base and contemptible: no public principle was at stake, either civil or religious; — few important points either of foreign or domestic policy. It was simply and without disguise a strife between individuals for the exclusive possession of political power and court-influence; of which each might, without disturbance, have enjoyed a share capable of contenting an ordinary ambition.

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In religion there was apparently no shade of difference between the hostile leaders; neither of them had studied with so little diligence the inclinations of the queen as to persist at this time in the patronage of the puritans; though the early impressions, certainly of Essex and probably of sir Robert Cecil also, must have been considerably in favor of this sect. Still less would either venture to stand forth the advocate of the catholics; although it was among the most daring and desperate of this body that Essex was compelled at length to seek adherents; when the total ruin of his interest with his sovereign fatally compelled him to exchange the character of head of a court-party for that of a conspirator and traitor. Of the title of the king of Scots both were steady supporters; and Essex first and Cecil afterwards commenced a secret correspondence with James; who flattered each in his turn with assurances of present friendship and future favor.

On one public question alone of any considerable magnitude do the rivals appear to have been at issue; — that of the prosecution of an offensive war against Spain.

The age and the wisdom of lord Burleigh alike inclined him to a pacific policy; and though Robert Cecil, for the purpose of strengthening himself and weakening his opponent, would frequently act the patron towards particular military men; — those especially of whom he observed Essex to entertain a jealousy; — it is certain that martial ardor made no part of his natural composition. Essex on the contrary, was all on fire for military glory and at

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this time he was urging the queen with unceasing importunities to make a fresh attack upon her capital enemy in the heart of his European dominions. In this favorite object, after encountering considerable opposition from her habits of procrastination, and from some remaining fears and scruples, he succeeded. The zeal of the people hastened to give full effect to the designs of her majesty, as soon as they were proclaimed, and a formidable armament was fitted out in all diligence, which in June, 1596, set sail for Cadiz.

Lord Howard of Effingham, as lord-admiral, commanded the fleet; Essex received with transport the appointment of general of all the land-forces; and spared neither pains nor cost in his preparations for the enterprise. Besides his constant eagerness for action, his spirit was on this occasion inflamed by an indignation against the tyrant Philip, "which," according to the happy expression of one of his biographers, "rose to the dignity of a personal aversion."[a] In his letters he was wont to employ the expression, "I will make that proud king know:" a phrase, it seems, which gave high offence to Elizabeth, who could not tolerate, under any circumstances, what she regarded as arrogance against a crowned head.

Subordinate commands were given to lord Thomas Howard, second son of the duke of Norfolk, who was at this time inclined to the party of Essex; to Raleigh, who now affected an extraordinary deference for this leader, his secret

[a] *A Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, by Lord Orford.*

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enemy and rival; to that very able officer sir Francis Vere, of the family of the earls of Oxford, who had highly distinguished himself during several years in the wars of the Low Countries; to sir George Carew, an intimate friend of sir Robert Cecil; and to some others, who formed together a council of war.

The queen herself on this occasion composed a prayer for the use of the fleet; and she sent to her land and her sea commander jointly "a letter of license to depart; besides comfortable encouragement." — "But ours in particular," adds a follower of Essex, "had one fraught with all kind of promises and loving offers, as the like, since he was a favorite, he never had."

Enterprise was certainly not the characteristic of the lord-admiral as a commander; and when, on the arrival of the armament off Cadiz, it was proposed that an attack should be made by the fleet on the ships in the harbour, he remonstrated against the rashness of such an attempt; and prevailed on several members of the council of war to concur in his objections. In the end, however, the arguments or importunities of the more daring party prevailed; and Essex threw his hat into the sea in a wild transport of joy on learning that the admiral consented to make the attack. He was now made acquainted by the admiral with the queen's secret order, dictated by her tender care for the safety of her young favorite; — that he should by no means be allowed to lead the assault; — and he promised an exact obedience to the mortifying prohibition. But, once in presence of the enemy,

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his impetuosity would brook no control. He broke from the station of inglorious security which had been assigned him, and rushed into the heat of the action.

The Spanish fleet was speedily driven up the harbour under the guns of the fort of Puntal; where the admiral's ship and another first-rate were set on fire by their own crews, and the rest run aground. Of these, two fine ships fell into the hands of the English; and lord Howard having refused to accept of any ransom for the remainder, saying that he came to consume and not to compound, they were all, to the number of fifty, burned by the Spanish admiral.

Meantime, Essex landed his men and marched them to the assault of Cadiz. The place was well fortified; and the defenders, having likewise the advantage of the ground, received the assailants so warmly, that they were on the point of being repulsed from the gate against which they had directed their attack: but Essex, just at the critical moment, rushed forward, seized his own colors, and threw them over the wall; "giving withal a most hot assault unto the gate, where, to save the honor of their ensign, happy was he that could first leap down from the wall, and with shot and sword make way through the thickest press of the enemy."

The town being thus stormed, was of course given up to plunder; but Essex, whose humanity was not less conspicuous than his courage, put an immediate stop to the carnage by a vigorous exertion of his authority; protected in person the women, children, and religious, whom he caused to retire to a

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place of safety; caused the prisoners to be treated with the utmost tenderness; and allowed all the citizens to withdraw, on payment of a ransom, before the place with its fortifications was committed to the flames. It was indeed the wish and intention of Essex to have kept possession of Cadiz, which he confidently engaged to the council of war to hold out against the Spaniards, with a force of no more than three or four thousand men, till succours could be sent from England; and with this view he had in the first instance sedulously preserved the buildings from all injury. But among his brother-officers few were found prepared to second his zeal: the expedition was in great measure an adventure undertaken at the expense of private persons, who engaged in it with the hope of gain rather than of glory; and as these men probably attributed the success which had hitherto crowned their arms in great measure to the surprise of the Spaniards, they were unwilling to risk in a more deliberate contest the rich rewards which had crowned their undertaking.

The subsequent proposals of Essex for the annoyance of the enemy, either by an attack on Corunna, or on St. Sebastian and St. Andero, or by sailing to the Azores in quest of the homeward-bound carracks, all experienced the same mortying negative from the members of the council of war, of whom lord Thomas Howard alone supported his opinions. But, undeterred by this systematic opposition, he persevered in urging that more might and more ought to be performed

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by so considerable an armament; and the lord-admiral, weary of contesting the matter, sailed away at length and left him on the Spanish coast with the few ships and the handful of men which still adhered to him. Want of provisions compelled him in a short time to abandon an enterprise now desperate; and he returned full of indignation to England, where fresh struggles and mortifications awaited him. During his absence Robert Cecil had carried his appointment to the office of secretary of state in opposition to Thomas Bodley; for whom, since he had found the restoration of Davison hopeless, Essex had strained every nerve to procure it; and this event was not only a strong indication of the counteraction on other points which he was doomed to experience, but became the basis on which the ascendancy of his adversaries was finally and firmly established. Yet so many considerations appeared to justify this preference on the part of the queen that it could scarcely be made a ground of open complaint. Where, it might be asked, could a fitter successor be found to the post which lord Burleigh had so long filled to the satisfaction of his sovereign and the benefit of his country, than the son who inherited all his ability, and who had been trained to business under the eye of his father as his assistant in the office? Why should the earl of Essex interfere with an order of things so natural? On what plea should the queen be induced to disappoint the hopes of her old and faithful servant and to cast a stigma upon a young man of the most promising talents, who had shown himself unwearied in his efforts to deserve her favor?

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By the queen and by the people, Essex, their common favorite, was welcomed, on his safe return from an expedition so glorious to himself individually, with every demonstration of joy and affection; and no one appeared to sympathise more cordially than her majesty in his indignation that nothing had been attempted against the Spanish treasure-ships. On the other hand, his adversaries were indefatigable in their attempts to lessen the glory of his exploits, by ascribing to the naval commanders a principal share in the success at Cadiz, which he accounted all his own. An anonymous narrative of the expedition which he had prepared was suppressed by means of a general prohibition to the printers of publishing any thing whatsoever relating to that business; and no other resource was left him than the imperfect one of dispersing copies of it in manuscript. It was suggested to the queen by some about her, that though the treasure-ships had escaped her, she might at least reimburse herself for the expenses incurred out of the rich spoils taken at Cadiz; and no sooner had this project gained possession of her mind, than she began to quarrel with Essex for his lavish distribution of prize-money. She required the commanders to resign to her a large share of their gains; and she had even the meanness to cause the private soldiers and sailors to be searched before they quitted the ships, that the value of the money or other booty of which they had possessed themselves might be deducted from their pay. Her first feelings of displeasure and disappointment regarding the results of the expedition once over,

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the rank and reputation of the officers concerned, and especially the brilliancy of the actual success, were allowed to cover all faults. The influence of her kinsman, the lord-admiral, over the mind of the queen, was one which daily increased in strength with her advancing age; — according to a common remark respecting family-attachments; — and it appears that he finally triumphed so completely over the accusations of his youthful adversary, as to ground on this very expedition his claim of advancement to a higher title.

It was the darling hope of Essex that he might be authorised to lead without delay his flourishing and victorious army to the recovery of Calais, now held by a Spanish garrison; and he took some secret steps with the French ambassador in order to procure a request to this effect from Henry IV. to Elizabeth. But this king absolutely refused to allow the town to be recaptured by his ally, on the required condition of her retaining it at the peace as an ancient possession of the English crown; the Cecil party also opposed the design; and the disappointed general saw himself compelled to pause in the career of glory.

It was not in the disposition of Essex to support these mortifications with the calmness which policy appeared to dictate; and Francis Bacon, alarmed at the courses which he saw the earl pursuing; and already foreboding his eventual loss of the queen's favor and the ruin of those, himself included, who had placed their dependence on him; addressed to him a very remarkable letter of caution and remonstrance, not less characteristic of his own peculiar

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mind, than illustrative of the critical situation of him to whom it was written.

After appealing to the earl himself for the advantage which he had lately received by following his own well-meant advice, in renewing with the queen "a treaty of obsequious kindness," which "did much attemper a cold malignant humor then growing upon her majesty towards him," he repeats his counsel that he should "win the queen;" adding, "if this be not the beginning of any other course, I see no end. And I will not now speak of favor or affection, but of other correspondence and agreeableness, which, when it shall be conjoined with the other of affection, I durst wager my life .... that in you she will come to the question of *Quid fiet homini quem rex vult honorare?* But how is it now? A man of a nature not to be ruled; — that hath the advantage of my affection knoweth it; — of an estate not grounded to his greatness; — of a popular reputation; — of a military dependence. I demand whether there can be a more dangerous image than this represented to any monarch living, much more to a lady and of her majesty's apprehension? And is it not more evident than demonstration itself, that whilst this impression continueth in her majesty's breast, you can find no other condition than inventions to keep your estate bare and low; crossing and disgracing your actions; extenuating and blasting of your merit; carping with contempt at your nature and fashions; breeding, nourishing, and fortifying such instruments as are most factious against you; repulses and scorns of your friends and dependents

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that are true and stedfast; winning and inveigling away from you such as are flexible and wavering; thrusting you into odious employments and offices to supplant your reputation; abusing you and feeding you with dalliances and demonstrations, to divert you from descending into the serious consideration of your own case; yea, and percase venturing you in perilous and desperate enterprises?"

With his usual exactness of method, the writer then proceeds to offer remedies for the five grounds of offence to her majesty here pointed out; amongst which the following are the most observable:—That he ought to ascribe any former and irrevocable instance of an ungovernable humor in him to dissatisfaction; and not to his natural temper:— That though he sought to shun, and in some respects rightly, any imitation of Hatton or Leicester, he should yet allege them on occasion to the queen as authors and patterns, because there was no readier means to make her think him in the right course:— That when his lordship happened in speeches *to do her majesty right;* "for there is no such matter as flattery amongst you all;" he had rather the air of paying compliments than of speaking what he really thought; "so that," adds he, "a man may read your formality in your countenance; whereas it ought to be done familiarly and with an air of earnest."— That he should never be without some particulars on foot which he should seem to pursue with earnestness and affection; and then let them fall upon taking knowledge of her majesty's opposition and dislike. Of which kind the weightiest might be, if he offered to labor in

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the behalf of some whom he favored for some of the places then void; choosing such a subject as he thought her majesty likely to oppose.... A less weighty sort of particulars might be the pretence of some journeys, which at her majesty's request his lordship might relinquish; as if he should pretend a journey to see his estate towards Wales, or the like..... And the lightest sort of particulars, which yet were not to be neglected, were in his habits, apparel, wearings, gestures, and the like.

With respect to a "military dependence," which he regards as the most injurious impression respecting his patron of all; he declares that he could not enough wonder that his lordship should say the wars were his occupation, and go on in that course. He greatly rejoiced, indeed, now it was over, in his expedition to Cadiz, on account of the large share of honor which he had acquired; and which would place him for many years beyond the reach of military competition. Besides that the disposal of places and other matters relating to the wars would of themselves flow in to him as he increased in other greatness, and preserve to him that dependence entire. It was, indeed, a thing which, considering the times and the necessity of the service, he ought above all to retain; but while he kept it in substance, he should abolish it in shows to the queen, who loved peace and did not love cost. And on this account he could not so well approve of his affecting the place of earl-marshal or master of the ordnance, on account of their affinity to a military greatness; and rather recommended to his seeking the peaceful, profitable, and courtly office

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of lord privy seal. In the same manner with respect to the reputation of popularity; which was a good thing in itself and one of the best flowers of his greatness both present and future; the only way was to quench it *verbis non rebus;* to take all occasions to declaim against popularity and popular courses to the queen; and to tax them in all others; yet for himself, to go on as before in all his honorable commonwealth courses. "And, therefore," says he, "I will not advise to cure this by dealing in monopolies or any oppressions."

The last and most curious article of all, respects his quality of a favorite. As, separated from all the other matters, it could not hurt, so, joined with them, he observes that it made her majesty more fearful and captious, as not knowing her own strength. For this, the only remedy was to give place to any other favorite to whom he should find her majesty incline, "so as the subject had no ill or dangerous aspect" towards himself. "For otherwise," adds this politic adviser, "whoever shall tell me that you may not have singular use of a favorite at your devotion, I will say he understandeth not the queen's affection, nor your lordship's condition."

These crafty counsels, which, steadily pursued, would have laid the army, the court, and the people, and in effect the queen herself, at the feet of a private nobleman, seem to have made considerable impression for the time on the mind of Essex; though the impetuosity of his temper, joined to a spirit of sincerity, honor, and generosity, which not even the pursuits of ambition and the occupations

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of a courtier could entirely quench, soon caused him to break loose from them as an intolerable restraint.

Francis Bacon, in furtherance of the plan which he had suggested to his patron of appearing to sink all other characters in that of a devoted servant of her majesty, likewise condescended to employ his genius upon a device which was exhibited by the earl on the ensuing anniversary of her accession with great applause.

First, his page, entering the tilt-yard, accosted her majesty in a fit speech; and she in return graciously pulled off her glove, and gave it to him. Some time after appeared the earl himself, who was met by an ancient hermit, a secretary of state, and a soldier; each of whom presented him with a book recommending his own course of life, and after a little pageantry and dumb show to relieve the solemnity of the main design, pronounced a long and well-penned speech to the same effect. All were answered by an esquire, or follower of the earl, who pointed out the evils attached to each pursuit, and concluded, says our reporter, "with an excellent but too plain English; that this knight would never forsake his mistress' love, whose virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose wisdom taught him all true policy, whose beauty and worth made him at all times fit to command armies. He showed all the defects and imperfections of their times; and, therefore, thought his own course of life to be best in serving his mistress.... The queen said that if she had thought there had been so much said of her, she would not have been there

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that night; and so went to bed." These speeches may still be read, with mingled admiration and regret, amongst the immortal works of Francis Bacon. In majesty of diction and splendour of allusion they are excelled by none of his more celebrated pieces; and with such a weight of meaning are they fraught, that persons who were ignorant of the serious purpose which he had in view, might wonder at the prodigality of the author in employing massy gold and real gems, on an occasion which deserved nothing better than tinsel and false brilliants. That full justice might be done to the eloquence of the composition, the favorite part of the esquire was supported by Toby Matthew, whose father was afterwards archbishop of York; a man of a singular and wayward disposition, whose prospects in life were subsequently blighted by his conversion to the church of Rome, but whose talents and learning were held in such esteem by Bacon, that he eagerly engaged his pen in the task of translating into Latin some of the most important of his own philosophical works. Such were the "wits, besides his own," of which the munificient patronage of Essex had now given him "the command!"

A few miscellaneous occurrences of the years 1595 and 1596 remain to be noticed.

The size of London, notwithstanding many proclamations and acts of parliament, prohibiting the erection of any new buildings except on the site of old ones, had greatly increased during the reign of Elizabeth; and one of the first effects of this rapid growth was to render the streets less orderly and

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peaceful. The small houses newly erected in the suburbs being crowded with poor, assembled from all quarters, thefts became frequent; and a bad harvest having plunged the lower classes into deeper distress, tumults and outrages ensued. In June, 1595, great disorders were committed on Tower-hill; and the multitude having insulted the lord mayor who went out to quell them, Elizabeth took the violent and arbitrary step of causing martial law to be proclaimed in her capital. Sir Thomas Wilford, appointed provost-marshal for the occasion, paraded the streets daily with a body of armed men ready to hang all rioters in the most summary manner; and five of these offenders suffered for high treason on Tower-hill, without resistance on the part of the people, or remonstrance on that of the parliament, against so flagrant a violation of the dearest rights of Englishmen.

Lord Hunsdon, the nearest kinsman of the queen, whose character has been already touched upon, died in 1596. It is related that Elizabeth, on hearing of his illness, finally resolved to confer upon him the title of earl of Wiltshire; to which he had some claim as nephew and heir male to sir Thomas Boleyn, her majesty's grandfather, who had borne that dignity. She accordingly made him a gracious visit, and caused the patent and the robes of an earl to be brought and laid upon his bed; but the old man, preserving to the last the blunt honesty of his character, declared, that if her majesty had accounted him unworthy of that honour while living, he accounted

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himself unworthy of it now that he was dying; and with this refusal he expired. Lord Willoughby succeeded him in the office of governor of Berwick; and lord Cobham, a wealthy but mean-spirited peer, of the party opposed to Essex, in that of lord chamberlain.

Henry, third earl of Huntingdon of the family of Hastings, died about the same time. By his mother, eldest daughter and coheiress of Henry Pole lord Montacute, he was the representative of the Clarence branch of the family of Plantagenet; but no pretensions of his had ever awakened anxiety in the house of Tudor. He was a person of mild disposition, greatly attached to the puritan party; which, bound together by a secret compact, now formed a church within the church: he is said to have impaired his fortune by his bounty to the more zealous preachers; and he largely contributed by his will to the endowment of Emanuel-college, the puritanical character of which was now well known.

Richard Fletcher bishop of London, styled by Harrington "a comely and courtly prelate," who departed this life in the same year, affords a subject for a few remarks. It was a practice of the more powerful courtiers of that day, when the lands of a vacant see had excited, as they seldom failed to do, their cupidity, to "find out some men that had great minds and small means or merits, that would be glad to leave a small deanery to make a poor bishopric, by new leasing lands that were almost out of lease [a];"

[a] *Harrington's Brief View.*

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and on these terms, which the more conscientious churchmen disdained, Fletcher had taken the bishopric of Oxford; and had in due time been rewarded for his compliance, by translation, first to Worcester and afterwards to London. His talents and deportment pleased the queen; and it is mentioned, as an indication of her special favor, that she once quarrelled with him for wearing too short a beard. But he afterwards gave her more serious displeasure by taking a wife; a gay and fair court-lady of good quality; and he had scarcely pacified her majesty by the propitiatory offering of a great entertainment at his house in Chelsea, when he was carried off by a sudden death; ascribed by his contemporaries to his immoderate use of the new luxury of smoking tobacco. This prelate was the father of Fletcher the dramatic poet.

Bishop Vaughan succeeded him; of whom Harrington gives the following trait: "He was an enemy to all supposed miracles, insomuch as one arguing with him in the closet at Greenwich in defence of them; and alleging the queen's healing of the evil for an instance, asking him what he could say against it, he answered; that he was loth to answer arguments taken from the topic-place of the cloth of estate; but if they would urge him to answer, he said his opinion was, she did it by virtue of some precious stone in possession of the crown of England that had such a natural quality. But had queen Elizabeth been told that he ascribed more virtue to her jewels

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(though she loved them well) than to her person, she would never have made him bishop of Chester."

Of the justice of the last remark there can be little question. In this reign, the royal pretension referred to, was asserted with unusual earnestness; and for good reasons, as we learn from a different authority. In 1597 a quarto book appeared, written in Latin and dedicated to her majesty by one of her chaplains, which contained a relation of the cures thus performed by her; in which it is related, that a catholic having been so healed, went away persuaded that the pope's excommunication of her majesty was of no effect: "For if she had not by right obtained the sceptre of the kingdom, and her throne established by the authority and appointment of God, what she attempted could not have succeeded. Because the rule is, that God is not any where witness to a lie."[a] Such were the reasonings of that age.

It is probably, likewise, to bishop Vaughan that sir John Harrington refers in the following article of his Brief Notes.

"One Sunday (April last) my lord of London preached to the queen's majesty, and seemed to touch on the vanity of decking the body too finely. Her majesty told the ladies, that if the bishop held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven; but he should walk thither

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[a] *Strype's Annals.*

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without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him. Perchance the bishop hath never sought her highness' wardrobe, or he would have chosen another text." [a]

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[a] *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

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CHAPTER XXVI.

1597 AND 1598.

Fresh expedition against Spain proposed. — Extracts from Whyte's letters. — Raleigh reconciles Essex and R. Cecil. — Essex master of the ordnance. — Anecdote of the queen and Mrs. Bridges. — Preparations for the expedition. — Notice of lord Southampton. — Ill success of the voyage. — Quarrel of Essex and Raleigh. — Displeasure of the queen. — Lord Admiral made earl of Nottingham. — Anger of Essex. — He is declared hereditary earl-marshal. — Reply of the queen to a Polish ambassador — to a proposition of the king of Denmark. — State of Ireland. — Treaty of Vervins. — Agreement between Cecil and Essex. — Anecdotes of Essex and the queen. — Their quarrel. — Letter of Essex to the lord-keeper. — Dispute between Burleigh and Essex. — Agreement with the Dutch. — Death and character of Burleigh. — Transactions between the queen and the king of Scots, and an extract from their correspondence. — Anecdote of sir Roger Aston and the queen. — Anecdote of archbishop Hutton. — Death of Spenser. — Hall's satires. — Notice of sir John Harrington. — Extracts from his note-book.

A FRESH expedition against the Spaniards was in agitation from the beginning of this year, which occasioned many movements at court; and, as usual, disturbed the mind of the queen with various perplexities. Her captious favor towards Essex and the arts employed by him to gain his will on every contested point, are well illustrated in the letters of Rowland Whyte; to which we must again recur.

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On February twenty-second he writes: "My lord of Essex kept his bed the most part of all yesterday; yet did one of his chamber tell me, he could not weep for it, for he knew his lord was not sick. There is not a day passes that the queen sends not often to see him; and himself every day goeth privately to her." Two days after he reports, that "my lord of Essex comes out of his chamber in his gown and night-cap..... Full fourteen days his lordship kept in; her majesty, as I heard, resolved to break him of his will and to pull down his great heart; who found it a thing impossible, and says he holds it from the mother's side; but all is well again, and no doubt he will grow a mighty man in our state."

The earl of Cumberland made "some doubt of his going to sea;" because lord Thomas Howard and Raleigh were to be joined with him in equal authority; the queen mentioned the subject to him; and on his repeating to herself his refusal, he was "well chidden."

In March, Raleigh was busied in mediating a reconciliation between Essex and Robert Cecil, in which he was so far successful that a kind of compromise took place; and, henceforth, court favors were shared, without any open quarrels, between their respective adherents. The motives urged by Raleigh for this agreement were, that it would benefit the country; that the queen's "continual unquietness" would turn to contentment; and that public business would go on to the hurt of the common enemy.

Essex, however, was malcontent at heart: he began to frequent certain meetings held in Blackfriars at

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the house of lady Russel, a busy puritan, who was one of the learned daughters of sir Anthony Cook. "Wearied," says Whyte, "with not knowing how to please, he is not unwilling to listen to those motions made him for the public good." He was soon after so much offended with her majesty for giving the office of warden of the cinque ports to his enemy lord Cobham, after he had asked it for himself, that he was about to quit the court; but the queen sent for him, and, to pacify him, made him master of the ordnance.

It is mentioned about this time, that the queen had of late "used the fair Mrs. Bridges with words and blows of anger." This young lady was one of the maids of honor; and is likewise referred to in a subsequent letter, where it is said, "It is spied out by envy that the earl of Essex is again fallen in love with his fairest B." On which Whyte observes, "It cannot choose but come to the queen's ears; and then is he undone, and all that depend upon his favor." A striking indication of the nature of the sentiment which the aged sovereign cherished for her youthful favorite!

In May our intelligencer writes thus: "Here hath been much ado between the queen and the lords about the preparation to sea; some of them urging the necessity of setting it forward for her safety; but she opposing it by no danger appearing towards her any where; and that she will not make wars, but arm for defence. Understanding how much of her treasure was already spent in victual, both for ships and soldiers at land, she was extremely angry with them that made such haste in it; and at Burleigh

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for suffering it, seeing no greater occasion. No reason nor persuasion by some of the lords could prevail, but that her majesty hath commanded order to be given to stay all proceeding; and sent my lord Thomas (Howard) word that he should not go to sea. How her majesty may be wrought to fulfil the most earnest desire of some to have it go forward, time must make it known."

It was by the reconciliation brought about by Raleigh between Essex and the Cecils, that the war-party was at this time rendered so strong, that the scruples of the queen were at length overruled; and a formidable armament was sent to sea, with the double object of destroying the Spanish ships in their harbours and of intercepting their homeward-bound West-India fleet. Essex was commander-in-chief by sea and land; lord Thomas Howard and Raleigh were vice and rear admirals; lord Montjoy was lieutenant-general; sir Francis Vere, marshal. Several young noblemen attached to Essex joined the expedition as volunteers; particularly lord Rich his brother-in-law, the earl of Rutland, afterwards married to the daughter of the countess of Essex by sir Philip Sidney, lord Cromwel, and the earl of Southampton. The last, whose friendship for Essex afterwards hurried him into enterprises still more perilous, appears to have been attracted to him by an extraordinary conformity of tastes and temper. Like Essex, he was brave and generous; but impetuous and somewhat inclined to arrogance:—like him, a munificent patron of the genius which he loved. Like his friend, again, he received from her majesty tokens of

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peculiar favor which she occasionally suspended on his giving indications of an ungovernable temper or too lofty spirit; and which she finally withdrew, on his presuming to marry without that consent which to certain persons she could never have been induced to accord. This earl of Southampton was grandson of that ambitious and assuming but able and diligent statesman, lord chancellor Wriothesley, appointed by Henry VIII. one of his executors; he was father of the virtuous Southampton, lord treasurer; and by him, grandfather of the heroical and ever-memorable Rachel lady Russel.

A storm drove the ill-fated armament back to Plymouth, where it remained wind-bound for a month; and Essex and Raleigh posted together up to court for fresh instructions. Having concerted their measures, they made sail for the Azores; and Raleigh with his division arriving first, attacked and captured the isle of Fayal without waiting for his admiral. Essex was incensed; and there were not wanting those about him who applied themselves to aggravate the quarrel; and even urged him to bring sir Walter to a court-martial: but he refused; and his anger soon evaporating, the difference was accommodated by lord Thomas Howard, and the rivals returned to the appearances of friendship. Essex was destitute of the naval skill requisite for the prosperous conduct of an enterprise of this nature: owing partly to his mistakes and partly to several thwarting circumstances, the West-India fleet escaped him; and three rich Havannah ships, which served to defray most of the expenses, were the only trophies of his "Island Voyage;" from

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which himself and the nation had anticipated results so glorious.

The queen received him with manifest dissatisfaction; his severity towards Raleigh was blamed; and it was evident that matters tended to involve him in fresh differences with Robert Cecil. During his absence, the lord-admiral had been advanced to the dignity of earl of Nottingham; and Essex now discovered that by a clause in the patent this honor was declared to be conferred upon him in consideration of his good service at the taking of Cadiz; that action of which he claimed to himself the whole merit. To make the injury greater, this title, conjoined to the office of lord high admiral, gave the new earl precedency of all others of the same rank; Essex among the rest. To such complicated mortifications his proud spirit disdained to submit; and after challenging without effect to single combat the lord-admiral himself, or any of his sons who would take up the quarrel, the indignant favorite retired a sullen malcontent to Wanstead-house, feigning himself sick. This expedient acted on the heart of the queen with all its wonted force; — she showed the utmost concern for his situation; chid the Cecils for wronging him; and soon after made him compensation for the act which had wounded him, by admitting his claim to the office of hereditary earl-marshal, with which he was solemnly invested in December, 1597; and in right of it once more took place above the lord-admiral.

It was during this summer that the arrogant deportment of a Polish ambassador, sent to com-

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plain of an invasion of neutral rights in the interruption given by the English navy to the trade of his master's subjects with Spain, gave occasion to a celebrated display of the spirit and the erudition of the queen of England. Speed, the ablest of our chroniclers, gives at length her extemporal Latin reply to his harangue; adding in his quaint but expressive phrase, that she, "thus lion like rising, daunted the malapert orator no less with her stately port and majestical deporture, than with the tartness of her princely cheeks; and turning to the train of her attendants thus said, 'God's death my lords,' (for that was her oath ever in anger,) 'I have been inforced this day to scour up my old Latin, that hath lain long in rusting.'" The same author mentions, that the king of Denmark having by his ambassador offered to mediate between England and Spain, the queen declined the overture; adding, "I would have the king of Denmark and all princes Christian and Heathen to know, that England hath no need to crave peace; nor myself indured one hour's fear since I attained the crown thereof, being guarded with so valiant and faithful subjects." Such was the lofty tone which Elizabeth, to the end of her days, maintained towards foreign powers; none of whom had she cause to dread or to pay court to! Yet her cheerfulness and fortitude were on the point of sinking under the harassing disquietudes of a petty war supported against her by a chief of rebels in Ireland.

The head of the sept, O'Neal, whom she had in vain endeavoured to attach permanently to her

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interests by conferring upon him the dignity of earl of Tyrone, had now for some years persevered in a resistance to her authority, which the most strenuous efforts of the civil and military governors of this turbulent and miserable island had proved inadequate to overcome. That brave officer, sir John Norris, then general of Ulster, had found it necessary to grant terms to the rebel whom he would gladly have brought in bonds to the feet of his sovereign. But this perfidious barbarian, according to his custom, observed the treaty no longer than till the English forces were withdrawn, and he saw the occasion favorable for rising again in arms. Lord Borough, whom the queen had appointed deputy in 1598; — on which account sir John Norris, appointed to act under him, died, as it was thought, of chagrin; — began his career with a vigorous attack, by which he carried, though not without considerable loss, the fort of Blackwater; the only place of strength possessed by the rebels; but before he was able to improve his success, death overtook him; and the government was committed for a time to the earl of Ormond. Tyrone, nothing daunted, laid siege in his turn to Blackwater; and sir Henry Bagnal, with the flower of the English army, being sent to relieve it, sustained the most signal defeat ever experienced by an English force in Ireland. The commander himself, several captains of distinction, and fifteen hundred men, were left on the field; and the fort immediately surrendered to the rebel chief, who now vauntingly declared, that he would accept of no terms from

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the queen of England; being resolved to remain in arms till the king of Spain should send forces to his assistance.

Such was the alarming position of affairs in this island at the conclusion of the year 1598. At home several incidents had intervened to claim attention.

The king of France had received from Spain proposals for a peace, which the exhausted state of his country would not permit him to decline; and he had used his utmost endeavours to persuade his allies, the queen of England and the United Provinces, to enter into the negotiations for a general pacification. But Philip II. still refused to acknowledge the independence of his revolted subjects; the only basis on which the new republic would condescend to treat. Elizabeth, besides that she disdained to desert those whom she had so long and so zealously supported, was in no haste to terminate a war from which she and her subjects anticipated honor with little peril, and plunder which would more than repay all expenses; and, both from England and Holland, agents were sent to remonstrate with Henry against the breach of treaty which he was about to commit by the conclusion of a separate peace. Elizabeth wrote to admonish him that the true sin against the Holy Ghost was ingratitude, of which she had much right to accuse him; that fidelity to engagements was the first of duties and of virtues; and that union, according to the ancient apologue of the bundle of rods, was the source of strength. But to all her eloquence and all her invectives Henry had to oppose the necessity of his

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affairs; and the treaty of Vervins was concluded; but not without some previous stipulations on the part of the French king, which softened considerably the resentment of his ally. Of the commissioners named by Elizabeth to arrange this business with Henry, Robert Cecil was the chief; who held, before his departure, many private conferences with Essex, and would not move from court till he had bound him by favors and promises not to do him injury by promoting his enemies in his absence. The earl of Southampton having given some offence to her majesty for which she had ordered him to absent himself awhile from court, took the opportunity to obtain license to travel, and attended the secretary to France; perhaps in the character of a spy upon his motions on behalf of Essex, who seems to have prepared him for the service by much private instruction.

"I acquainted you," says Rowland Whyte to his correspondent, "with the care had to bring my lady of Leicester to the queen's presence. It was often granted, and she brought to the privy galleries, but the queen found some occasion not to come. Upon Shrove Monday the queen was persuaded to go to Mr. Comptroller's at the tilt end; and there was my lady of Leicester with a fair jewel of three hundred pounds. A great dinner was prepared by my lady Chandos; the queen's coach ready, and all the world expecting her majesty's coming; when, upon a sudden, she resolved not to go, and so sent word. My lord of Essex, that had kept his chamber all the day before in his night-gown, went up to the queen the privy

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way; but all would not prevail; and as yet my lady Leicester hath not seen the queen. It had been better not moved, for my lord of Essex, by importuning the queen in these unpleasing matters, loses the opportunity he might take to do good unto his ancient friends." But on March 2d he adds: "My lady Leicester was at court; kissed the queen's hand and her breast, and did embrace her; and the queen kissed her. My lord of Essex is in exceeding favor here. Lady Leicester departed from court exceedingly contented, but being desirous again to come to kiss the queen's hand, it was denied; and, as I heard, some wonted unkind words given out against her."

This extraordinary height of royal favor was not merely the precursor, but, by the arrogant presumption with which it inspired him, a principal cause of Essex's decline, which was now fast approaching. Confident in the affections of Elizabeth, he suffered himself to forget that she was still his queen and still a Tudor; he often neglected the attentions which would have gratified her; on any occasional cause of ill humour he would drop slighting expressions respecting her age and person, which, if they reached her ear, could never be forgiven: on one memorable instance he treated her with indignity openly, and in her presence. A dispute had arisen between them in presence of the admiral, the secretary, and the clerk of the signet, respecting the choice of a commander for Ireland; the queen resolving to send sir William Knolles, the uncle of Essex, while he vehemently supported sir George Carew; because this person, who was

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haughty and boastful and much attached to the secretary, had given him some offence; and he wanted to remove him out of his way. Unable either by argument or persuasion to prevail over the resolute will of her majesty, the favorite at last forgot himself so far as to turn his back upon her with a laugh of contempt; an outrage which she revenged after her own manner, by boxing his ears and bidding him "Go and be hanged." This retort so inflamed the blood of Essex that he clapped his hand on his sword; and while the lord-admiral hastened to throw himself between them, he swore that not from Henry VIII. himself would he have endured such an indignity; and foaming with rage he rushed out of the palace. His sincere friend the lord-keeper immediately addressed to him a prudential letter, urging him to lose no time in seeking with humble submissions the forgiveness of his offended mistress: but Essex replied to these well-intended admonitions by a letter which, amid all the choler that it betrays, must still be applauded both for its eloquence and for a manliness of sentiment of which few other public characters of the age appear to have been capable. The lord-keeper in his letter had strongly urged the religious duty of absolute submission on the part of a subject to every thing that his sovereign, justly or unjustly, should be pleased to lay upon him; to which the earl thus replies: "But, say you, I must yield and submit. I can neither yield myself to be guilty, or this imputation laid upon me to be just. I owe so much to the Author of all truth, as I can never yield falsehood to be

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truth, or truth to be falsehood. Have I given cause, ask you, and take scandal when I have done? No; I gave no cause to take so much as Fimbria's complaint against me; for I did *totum telum corpore recipere.* I patiently bear all and sensibly feel all that I then received, when this scandal was given me. Nay more; when the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion enforce me to sue? or doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? What, cannot princes err? cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power or authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my good lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes, show to have no sense of princes' injuries; let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe in an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong and feel it. My cause is good; I know it; and whatsoever come, all the powers on earth can never show more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can show in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed upon me."

Several other friends of Essex; his mother, his sister, and the earl of Northumberland her husband, urged him in like manner to return to his attendance at court and seek her majesty's forgiveness; while she, on her part, secretly uneasy at his absence, permitted certain persons to go to him, as from themselves, and suggest terms of accommodation. Sir George Carew was made lord-president of Munster; and sir William

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Knolles, who perhaps had not desired the appointment, assured his nephew of his earnest wish to serve him. Finally, this great quarrel was made up, we scarcely know how; and Essex appeared again as powerful at court as ever; though some have believed, and with apparent reason, that from this time the sentiments of the queen for her once cherished favorite partook more of fear than of love; and that confidence was never re-established between them.

This celebrated dispute appears to have been in some manner mingled or connected with the important question of peace or war with Spain, which had previously been debated with extreme earnestness between Essex and Burleigh. The former, who still thirsted for military distinction, contended with the utmost vehemence of invective for the maintenance of perpetual hostility against the power of Philip; while the latter urged that he was now sufficiently humbled to render an accommodation both safe and honorable. Wearied and disgusted at length with the violence of his young antagonist, the hoary minister, in whom

> ..... "old experience did attain
> To something like prophetic strain;"

drew forth a Prayer-book, and with awful significance pointed to the text, "Men of blood shall not live out half their days." But the clamor for war prevailed over the pleadings of humanity and prudence; and it was left for the unworthy successor of Elizabeth to patch up in haste an inconsiderate and ignoble accommodation, in place of the solid

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and advantageous peace which the wisdom of Elizabeth and her better counsellor might at this time with ease have concluded.

The lord-treasurer enjoyed, however, the satisfaction of completing for his mistress an agreement with the states of Holland, which provided in a satisfactory manner for the repayment of the sums which she had advanced to them; and exonerated her from the considerable portion of the annual expense which she had hitherto incurred in their defence. This was the last act of lord Burleigh's life, which terminated by a long and gradual decay on August 4th, 1598, in the 78th year of his age.

On the character of this great minister, identified as it is with that of the government of Elizabeth, during a period of no less than forty years, a few additional remarks may here suffice.—Good sense was the leading feature of his intellect; moderation of his temper. His native quickness of apprehension was supported by a wonderful force and steadiness of application; and by an exemplary spirit of order. His morals were regular; his sense of religion habitual, profound, and operative. In his declining age, harassed by diseases and cares, and saddened by the loss of a beloved wife, the worthy sharer of his inmost counsels, he became peevish and irascible; but his heart was good; in all the domestic relations he was indulgent and affectionate; in his friendships tender and faithful, nor could he be accused of pride, of treachery, or of vindictiveness. Rising as he did by the strength of his own merits, unaided by birth or connexions,

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he seems to have early formed a resolution, more prudent than generous, of attaching himself to no political leader so closely as to be entangled in his fall. Thus he deserted his earliest patron, protector Somerset, on a change of fortune; and is even said to have drawn the articles of impeachment against him.

He extricated himself with adroitness from the ruin of Northumberland, by whom he had certainly been much employed and trusted; and, at some expense of protestant consistency, contrived to escape persecution, though not to hold office, under the rule of Mary. Towards the queen his mistress, his demeanor was obsequious to the brink of servility; he seems on no occasion to have hesitated on the execution of any of her commands; and the kind of tacit compromise by which he and Leicester, in spite of their mutual animosity, were enabled for so long a course of years to hold divided empire in the cabinet, could not have been maintained without a general acquiescence on the part of Burleigh in the various malversations and oppressions of that unworthy favorite.

Another accusation brought against him is that of taking money for ecclesiastical preferments. Of the truth of this charge, sufficient evidence might be brought from original documents; but an apologist would urge with justice, that his royal mistress, who virtually delegated to him the most laborious duties of the office of head of the church, both expected and desired that emolument should thence accrue to him and to the persons under him. Thus we find it stated that bishop Fletcher had

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" bestowed in allowances and gratifications to divers attendants about her majesty, since his preferment to the see of London, the sum of thirty-one hundred pounds, or thereabouts; which money was given by him, for the most part of it, by her majesty's direction and special appointment." [a]

The ministers of a sovereign who did not scruple to accept of bribes from parties engaged in law-suits, for the exertion of her own interest with her judges, could scarcely be expected to exhibit much delicacy on this head. In fact, the venality of the court of Elizabeth was so gross, that no public character appears even to have professed a disdain of the influence of gifts and bribes; and we find lord Burleigh inserting the following, among rules moral and prudential drawn up for the use of his son Robert when young: " Be sure to keep some great man thy friend. But trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often. Present him with many yet small gifts, and of little charge. And if thou have cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be some such thing as may be daily in his sight. Otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain as a hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a football for every insulting companion."

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[a] *Birch's Memoirs.*

[b] In connexion with this subject the following letter appears worthy of notice.

Hutton archbishop of York to the lord-treasurer: —

" I am bold at this time to inform your lordship, what ill success I had in a suit for a pardon for Miles Dawson, seminary priest, whom I converted wholly the last summer from popery. Upon his coming to church, receiving the holy communion and taking the oath of supremacy, I and the council here, about Michaelmas last, joined in petition to her majesty for her gracious pardon; and commended the matter to one of the masters of requests; and

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In his office of lord-treasurer, this minister is allowed to have behaved with perfect integrity, and to have permitted no oppression on the subject; wisely and honorably maintaining, that nothing could be for the advantage of a sovereign which in any way injured his reputation. His conduct in this high post added to a general opinion of his prudence and virtue, caused his death to be sincerely deplored, and his memory to be constantly held in higher esteem by the people, than that of any former minister of any English prince.

Elizabeth was deeply sensible that the loss of such a servant, counsellor, and friend was irreparable. Contrary to her custom, she wept much, and retired for a time from all company; and it is said that to the end of her life she could never hear or pronounce his name without tears. Although she was not sufficiently mistress of herself in those fits of rage to which she was occasionally liable, to refrain from treating him with a harshness and contempt which sometimes moved the old man even to weeping, her behaviour towards him satis-

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writ also to Mr. Secretary to further it, if need were, which he willingly promised to do. In Michaelmas term nothing was done. And, therefore, in Hilary term, I being put in mind that all was not done in that court for God's sake only, sent up twenty French crowns of mine own purse, as a small remembrance for a poor man's pardon, which was thankfully accepted of.

"Some say that Mr. Topcliffe did hinder his pardon; who protesteth that he knoweth no cause to stay it. There is some fault somewhere, I know it is not in her majesty. Of whom I will say, as the prophet David speaketh of God, 'Hath queen Elizabeth forgotten to be gracious? And is her mercy come to an end for evermore?' *Absit.* The whole world knoweth the contrary. Your lordship may do very well in mine opinion to move Mr. Secretary Cecil to deal often in these works of mercy. It will make him beloved of God and man."

(Dated York, May 1597.)

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factorily evinced on the whole her deep sense of his fidelity and various merits as a minister; and her affection for him as a man. He appears to have been the only person of humble birth whom she condescended to honor with the garter: she constantly made him sit in her presence, on account of his being troubled with the gout; and would pleasantly tell him, "My lord, we make much of you, not for your bad legs but your good head."[a] In his occasional fits of melancholy and retirement, she would woo him back to her presence by kind and playful letters; and she absolutely refused to accept of the resignation which his bodily infirmities led him to tender two or three years before his death. She constantly visited him when confined by sickness: — on one of these occasions, being admonished by his attendant to stoop as she entered at his chamber-door, she replied; "For your master's sake I will, though not for the king of Spain." His lady was much in her majesty's favor and frequently in attendance on her; and it has been surmised that her husband found her an important auxiliary in maintaining his influence.

Elizabeth had the weakness, frequent among princes and not unusual with private individuals, of hating her heir; a sentiment which gained ground upon her in proportion as the infirmities of age admonished her of her approach towards the destined limit of her long and splendid course. Notwithstanding the respectful observances by which

[a] *Fuller.*

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James exerted himself to disguise his impatience for her death, particular incidents occurred from time to time to aggravate her suspicion and exasperate her animosity; and the present year was productive of some remarkable circumstances of this nature. The queen had long been displeased at the indulgence exercised by the king of Scots towards certain catholic noblemen by whom a treasonable correspondence had been carried on with Spain, and a very dangerous conspiracy formed against his person and government. Such misplaced lenity, combined with certain negotiations which he carried on with the catholic princes of Europe, she regarded as evincing a purpose to secure to himself an interest with the Romish party in England as well as Scotland, which she could not view without anxiety. Her worst apprehensions were now confirmed by the information which reached her from two different quarters, that James, in a very respectful letter to the pope, had given him assurance under his own hand of his resolution to treat his catholic subjects with indulgence; at the same time requesting that his holiness would give a cardinal's hat to Drummond, bishop of Vaison. Almost at the same time, one Valentine Thomas, apprehended in London for a theft, accused the king of Scots of some evil designs against herself. Explanations being demanded, James solemnly disavowed the letter to the pope, which he treated as a forgery and imposture; though several years afterwards, when cardinal Bellarmine produced the same letter, in his controversy with the king respecting the

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oath of allegiance, his majesty no longer judged it necessary to disclaim it.

To the charge brought by Thomas, he returned a denial probably better founded; and required that the accuser should be arraigned in presence of some commissioner whom he should send: but Elizabeth, less jealous of his dealings with the papal party now that she no longer dreaded a Spanish invasion, judged it more prudent to bury the whole matter in silence; and resumed, in the tone of friendship, the correspondence which she regularly maintained with her kinsman.

This correspondence, which still exists in MS. in the Salisbury collection, is rendered obscure and sometimes unintelligible by its reference to verbal messages which the bearers of the letters were commissioned to deliver: but several of those of Elizabeth afford a rich display of character. She sometimes assures James of the tenderness of her affection and her disinterested zeal for his welfare, in that tone of hypocrisy which was too congenial to her disposition; at other times she breaks forth into vehement invective against the weakness and mutability of his counsels; and offers him excellent instructions in the art of reigning; but clouded by her usual uncouth and obscure phraseology, and rendered offensive by their harsh and dictatorial style. When she regards herself as personally injured by any part of his conduct, her complaints are seasoned with an equal portion of menace and contempt; as in the following specimen: —

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Queen Elizabeth to the king of Scots.

" When the first blast of a strange, unused, and seld heard of sound had pierced my ears, I supposed that flying fame, who with swift quills oft paceth with the worst, had brought report of some untruth; but when too, too many records in your open parliament were witnesses of such pronounced words, not more to my disgrace than to your dishonor; who did forget that (above all other regard) a prince's word ought utter nought of any, much less of a king, than such as to which truth might say Amen: But you, neglecting all care of yourself, what danger of reproach, besides somewhat else, might light upon you, have chosen so unseemly a theme to charge your only careful friend withal; of such matter as (were you not amazed in all senses) could not have been expected at your hands; of such imagined untruths as were never thought of in our time; and do wonder what evil spirits have possessed you, to set forth so infamous devices void of any show of truth. I am sorry that you have so wilfully fallen from your best stay; and will needs throw yourself into the hurlpool of bottomless discredit. Was the haste so great to hie to such opprobry as that you would pronounce a never-thought-of action afore you had but asked the question of her that best could tell it? I see well we two be of very different natures; for I vow to God I would not corrupt my tongue with an unknown report of the greatest foe I have; much less could I detract my best deserving friend with a spot so foul as scarcely

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may be ever outrazed. Could you root the desire of gifts of your subjects upon no better ground than this quagmire, which to pass you scarcely may without the slip of your own disgrace? Shall ambassage be sent to foreign princes laden with instructions of your rash advised charge? ..... I never yet loved you so little as not to moan your infamous dealings, which you are in mind, we see, that myself shall possess more princes witness of my causeless injuries, which I should have wished had passed no seas to testify such memorials of your wrongs. Bethink you of such dealings, and set your labor upon such mends as best may, though not right, yet salve some piece of this overslip; and be assured that you deal with such a king as will bear no wrongs and endure infamy; the examples have been so lately seen as they can hardly be forgotten of a far mightier and potenter prince than any Europe hath. Look you not, therefore, that without large amends I may or will slupper up such indignities. We have sent this bearer Bowes, whom you may safely credit, to signify such particularities as fits not a letter's talk. And so I recommend you to a better mind and more advised conclusions." Dated January 4th, 1597–1598.[a]

From another of these letters we learn that James had addressed a love-sonnet to Elizabeth; and he complains of her having taken no notice of it; reminding her that Cupid was a god of a most impatient disposition.

[a] MS. in Dr. Haynes's extracts from the Salisbury collection. — I am unable to discover to what particular circumstance this angry letter refers.

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An author has the following notice respecting sir Roger Aston, frequently the bearer of these curious epistles. "He was an Englishman born, but had his breeding wholly in Scotland; and had served the king many years as his barber; an honest and free-hearted man, and of an ancient family in Cheshire, but of no breeding answerable to his birth. Yet was he the only man ever employed as a messenger from the king to queen Elizabeth, as a letter-carrier only, which expressed their own intentions without any help from him, besides the delivery; but even in that capacity was in very good esteem with her majesty; and received very royal rewards, which did enrich him, and gave him a better revenue than most gentlemen in Scotland. For the queen did find him as faithful to her as to his master, in which he showed much wisdom, though of no breeding. In this his employment I must not pass over one pretty passage I have heard himself relate. That he did never come to deliver any letters from his master, but ever he was placed in the lobby, the hangings being turned towards him, where he might see the queen dancing to a little fiddle; which was to no other end than that he should tell his master, by her youthful disposition, how likely he was to come to the possession of the crown he so much thirsted after; for you must understand, the wisest in that kingdom did believe the king should never enjoy this crown as long as there was an old wife in England; which they did believe we ever set up as the other was dead." [a]

[a] *Weldon's Court of King James.*

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Though in her own letters to James, Elizabeth made no scruple of treating him as the destined heir to her throne, she still resisted, with as much pertinacity as ever, all the proposals made her for publicly declaring her successor; and on this subject, a lively anecdote is related by sir John Harrington in his account of Hutton, archbishop of York, which must belong to the year 1595 or 1596.

"I no sooner," says he, "remember this famous and worthy prelate, but methinks I see him in the chappel at Whitehall, queen Elizabeth at the window in the closet; all the lords of the parliament spiritual and temporal about them; and then, after his three curtsies, that I hear him out of the pulpit thundering this text; 'The kingdoms of the earth are mine, and I do give them to whom I will, and I have given them to Nebuchodonosor and his son, and his son's son:' which text when he had thus produced, taking the sense rather than words of the prophet, there followed first so general a murmur of one friend whispering to another; then such an erected countenance in those that had none to speak to; lastly, so quiet a silence and attention in expectance of some strange doctrine, where text itself gave away kingdoms and sceptres, as I have never observed before or since.

"But he . . . . . showed how there were two special causes of translating of kingdoms, the fullness of time and the ripeness of sin . . . . Then coming nearer home, he showed how oft our nation had been a prey to foreigners; as first when we were all Britons subdued by these Romans; then, when the fullness of time and ripeness of our sin required it, subdued by the Saxons; after

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this a long time prosecuted and spoiled by the Danes; finally conquered and reduced to perfect subjection by the Normans, whose posterity continued in great prosperity to the days of her majesty; who for peace, for plenty, for glory, for continuance, had exceeded them all; that had lived to change all her councillors but one; all officers twice or thrice; some bishops four times: only the uncertainty of succession gave hopes to foreigners to attempt fresh invasions, and bred fears, in many of her subjects, of a new conquest. The only way then, said he, that is in policy left to quail those hopes and to assuage those fears, were to establish the succession ..... at last, insinuating as far as he durst the nearness of blood of our present sovereign, he said plainly; that the expectations and presages of all writers went northward, naming without any circumlocution Scotland; which, said he, if it prove an error, yet will it be found a learned error.

"When he had finished this sermon, there was no man, that knew queen Elizabeth's disposition, but imagined that such a speech was as welcome as salt to the eyes, or, to use her own word, to pin up her winding sheet before her face, so to point out her successor and urge her to declare him; wherefore we all expected that she would not only have been highly offended, but in some present speech have showed her displeasure. It is a principle not to be despised, *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare;* she considered perhaps the extraordinary auditory; she supposed many of them were of his opinion; she might suspect some of them had persuaded him

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to this motion; finally, she ascribed so much to his years, to his place, to his learning, that when she opened the window we found ourselves all deceived; for very kindly and calmly, without show of offence (as if she had but waked out of some sleep) she gave him thanks for his very learned sermon. Yet when she had better considered the matter and recollected herself in private, she sent two counsellors to him with a sharp message, to which he was glad to give a patient answer."

The premature death of Edmund Spenser, under circumstances of severe distress, now called forth the universal commiseration and regret of the friends and patrons of English genius. After witnessing the plunder and burning of his house and the destruction of his whole property by the Irish rebels, the unfortunate poet had fled to England for shelter; — the annuity of fifty pounds which he enjoyed as poet-laureat to her majesty being apparently his sole resource; and having taken up his melancholy abode in an obscure lodging in London, he pined away under the pressure of penury and despondence.

The genius of this great poet, formed on the most approved models of the time and exercised upon themes peculiarly congenial to its taste, received in all its plenitude that homage of contemporary applause which has sometimes failed to reward the efforts of the noblest masters of the lyre. The adventures of chivalry and the dim shadowings of moral allegory, were almost equally the delight of a romantic, a serious, and a learned age. It was also a point of loyalty to admire in Gloriana queen of Faery, or in the empress Mercilla, the avowed types

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of the graces and virtues of her majesty: and she herself had discernment sufficient to distinguish between the brazen trump of vulgar flattery with which her ear was sated, and the pastoral reed of antique frame tuned sweetly to her praise by Colin Clout. Spenser was interred with great solemnity in Westminster-abbey by the side of Chaucer, the generous Essex defraying the cost of the funeral and walking himself as a mourner. That ostentatious but munificent woman Anne countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, erected a handsome monument to his memory several years afterwards; the brother-poets who attended his obsequies threw elegies and sonnets into the grave; and of the more distinguished votaries of the muse in that day there is scarcely one who has withheld his tribute to the fame and merit of this delightful author. Shakspeare in one of his sonnets had already testified his high delight in his works; Joseph Hall, afterwards eminent as a bishop, a preacher and polemic, but at this time a young student of Emanuel-college, has more than one complimentary allusion to the poems of Spenser in his "Toothless Satires;" printed in 1597. Thus, in the invocation to his first satire, referring to Spenser's description of the marriage of the Thames and Medway, he inquires, —

..... "what baser muse can bide
To sit and sing by Granta's naked side?
They haunt the tided Thames and salt Medway,
E'er since the fame of their late bridal day.
Nought have we here but willow-shaded shore,
To tell our Grant his banks are left forlore."

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And again, in ridiculing the imitation of some of the more extravagant fictions of the Orlando Furioso, he thus suddenly checks himself:—

"But let no rebel satyr dare traduce
Th' eternal legends of thy faery muse,
Renowned Spenser! whom no earthly wight
Dares once to emulate, much less dares despight.
Salust of France[a] and Tuscan Ariost,
Yield up the laurel garland ye have lost."

These pieces of Hall, reprinted in 1599 with three additional books under the uncouth title of "Virgidemiarum" (a harvest of rods), present the earliest example in our language of regular satire on the ancient model; and have gained from an excellent poetical critic the following high eulogium. "These satires are marked with a classical precision, to which English poetry had yet rarely attained. They are replete with animation of style and sentiment. The indignation of the satirist is always the result of good sense. Nor are the thorns of severe invective unmixed with the flowers of pure poetry. The characters are delineated in strong and lively colouring; and their discriminations are touched with the masterly traces of genuine humour. The versification is equally energetic and elegant; and the fabric of the couplets approaches to the modern standard."[b]

A few of his allusions to reigning follies may here be quoted. Contrasting the customs of our

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[a] Du Bartas, then an admired writer in England as well as France, was so styled.

[b] *Warton's History of English Poetry*, vol. iv.

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barbarous ancestors with those of his own times, he says, —

" They naked went, or clad in ruder hide,
Or homespun russet void of foreign pride.
But thou can'st mask in garish gaudery,
To suit a fool's far-fetched livery.
A French head joined to neck Italian,
Thy thighs from Germany and breast from Spain.
An Englishman in none, a fool in all,
Many in one, and one in several."

Shakspeare makes Portia satirize the same affectation in her English admirer; — " How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour every where."

Other contemporary writers have similar allusions, and it may be concluded, that the passion for travelling then, and ever since, so prevalent amongst the English youth, was fast eradicating all traces of a national costume by giving occasion to the introduction of novel garments, capriciously adopted by turns from every country of Europe.

" Cadiz spoil" is more than once referred to by Hall; and amongst expedients for raising a fortune he enumerates, with a satirical glance at sir Walter Raleigh, the trading to Guiana for gold; as also the search of the philosopher's stone. He likewise ridicules the costly mineral elixirs of marvellous virtues vended by alchemical quacks; and, with sounder sense in this point than usually belonged to his age, mocks at the predictions of judicial astrology.

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In several passages he reprehends the new luxuries of the time, among which coaches are not forgotten.

It appears that the increasing conveniencies and pleasures of a London life had already begun to occasion the desertion of rural mansions and the decay of that boundless hospitality which the former possessors had made their boast; and thus feelingly and beautifully does the poet describe the desolation of one of these seats of antiquated magnificence: —

"Beat the broad gates, a goodly hollow sound
With double echoes doth again rebound;
But not a dog doth bark to welcome thee,
Nor churlish porter canst thou chafing see;
All dumb and silent like the dead of night,
Or dwelling of some sleepy Sybarite!
The marble pavement hid with desert weed,
With houseleek, thistle, dock, and hemlock-seed. —
Look to the towered chimneys, which should be
The windpipes of good hospitality: —
Lo there the unthankful swallow takes her rest,
And fills the tunnel with her circled nest."

The translation of the Orlando Furioso through which that singular work of genius had just become known to the English reader, was executed by sir John Harrington; the same who afterwards composed for Henry prince of Wales, the Brief View of the English Church; the godson of Elizabeth, and the child of her faithful servants James Harrington and Isabella Markham.

After the usual course of school and college education, young Harrington, who was born in 1561, presented himself at court, where his wit and

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learning soon procured him a kind of distinction which was not, however, unattended with danger. A satirical piece was traced to him as its author, containing certain allusions to living characters which gave so much offence to the courtiers, that he was threatened with the animadversions of the Star-chamber; but the secret favor of Elizabeth towards a godson whom she loved and who amused her, saved him from this very serious kind of retaliation. A tale which he some time after translated out of Ariosto prôved very entertaining to the court-ladies, and soon met the eyes of the queen; who, in affected displeasure at certain indelicate passages, ordered him to appear no more at court, — till he had translated the whole poem. The command was obeyed with alacrity; and he speedily committed his Orlando to the press, with a dedication to her majesty. Before this time our sprightly poet had found means to dissipate a considerable portion of the large estate to which he was born; and being well inclined to listen to the friendly counsels of Essex, who bade him "lay good hold on her majesty's bounty and ask freely;" he dexterously opened his case by the following lines slipped behind her cushion: —

"For ever dear, for ever dreaded prince,
You read a verse of mine a little since;
And so pronounced each word and every letter,
Your gracious reading graced my verse the better:
Sith then your highness doth by gift exceeding
Make what you read the better for your reading;
Let my poor muse your pains thus far importune,
Like as you read my verse, so — read my fortune.
"*From your Highness' saucy Godson.*"

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Of the further progress of his suit and the various little arts of pleasing to which Harrington now applied himself, some amusing hints may be gathered out of the following extracts taken from a note-book kept by himself: —

.... "I am to send good store of news from the country for her highness' entertainment.... Her highness loveth merry tales."

"The queen stood up and bade me reach forth my arm to rest her thereon. O! what sweet burden to my next song. Petrarch shall eke out good matter for this business."

"The queen loveth to see me in my new frize jerkin; and saith, 'tis well enough cut. I will have another made liken to it. I do remember she spit on sir Matthew's fringed cloth; and said the fool's wit was gone to rags. — Heaven spare me from such jibing!"

"I must turn my poor wits towards my suit for the lands in the north..... I must go in an early hour, before her highness hath special matters brought up to counsel on. — I must go before the breakfast covers are placed, and stand uncovered as her highness cometh forth her chamber; then kneel and say, God save your majesty! I crave your ear at what hour may suit for your servant to meet your blessed countenance. Thus will I gain her favor to follow to the auditory."[a]

"Trust not a friend to do or say,
In that yourself can sue or pray."

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[a] *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

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The lands alluded to in the last extract formed a large estate in the north of England, which an ancestor of Harrington had forfeited by his adherence to the house of York during the civil wars, and which he was now endeavouring to recover. This further mention of the business occurs in one of his letters.

" Yet I will adventure to give her majesty five hundred pounds in money and some pretty jewel or garment, as you shall advise; only praying her majesty to further my suit with some of her learned counsel; which I pray you to find some proper time to move in; this some hold as a dangerous adventure, but five-and-twenty manors do well justify my trying it."

How notorious must have been the avarice and venality of a sovereign, before such a mode of ensuring success in a lawsuit could have entered into the imagination of a courtier!

But the fortunes of Harrington, as of persons of more importance, now become involved in the state of Irish affairs, to which the attention of the reader must immediately be directed.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

1599 TO 1603.

Irish affairs. — Essex appointed lord-deputy. — His letter to the queen. — Letter of Markham to Harrington. — Departure of Essex and proceedings in Ireland. — His letter to the privy council, — conferences with Tyrone, — unexpected arrival at court. — Behaviour of the queen. — State of parties. — Letters of sir J. Harrington. — Further particulars respecting Essex. — His letter of submission. — Relentlessness of the queen. — Sir John Hayward's history. — Second letter of Essex. — Censure passed upon him in council. — Anecdote of the queen. — Essex liberated. — Reception of a Flemish ambassador. — Discontent of Raleigh. — Traits of the queen. — Letter of sir Robert Sidney to sir John Harrington. — Crisis of the fortune of Essex. — Conduct of lord Montjoy. — Proceedings at Essex-house. — Revolt of Essex. — He defends his house. — Is taken and committed to the Tower. — His trial and that of lord Southampton. — Conduct of Bacon. — Confessions of Essex. — Behaviour of the queen. — Death of Essex. — Fate of his adherents. — Reception of the Scotch ambassadors. — Interview of the queen and Sully. — Irish affairs. — Letter of sir John Harrington. — A parliament summoned. — Affair of monopolies. — Quarrel between the Jesuits and secular priests. — Conversation of the queen respecting Essex. — Letter of sir J. Harrington. — Submission of Tyrone. — Melancholy of Elizabeth. — Story of the ring. — Her death. — Additional traits of her character. — Her eulogy by bishop Hall.

THE death of Philip II. in September, 1598, and the succession of the feeble Philip III., under whom

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the Spanish monarchy proceeded with accelerated steps towards its decline, had finally released the queen from all apprehensions of foreign invasion, and left her at liberty to turn her whole attention to the pacification of Ireland. The state of that island was in every respect deplorable: —the whole province of Ulster in open rebellion under Tyrone; — the rest of the country only waiting for the succours from the pope and the king of Spain, which the credulous natives were still taught to expect, to join openly in the revolt, and in the meantime reduced to such a state of despair by innumerable oppressions, and by the rumor of further severities meditated by the queen, that it seemed prepared to oppose the most obstinate resistance to every measure of government. In what manner and by whom it should be attempted to bring this wretched province back to its allegiance, had been the subject of frequent and earnest debates in the council; and on these occasions Essex had vehemently reprobated the conduct of former governors in wasting time on inferior objects, instead of first undertaking the reduction of Tyrone, and labored with extreme earnestness to impress the queen with an opinion of the superior justness of his own views of the subject. Elizabeth believed, and with reason, that she discovered in lord Montjoy talents not unequal to the arduous office of lord-deputy at so critical a juncture; but when the greater part of her council appeared to concur in her choice, Essex insinuated a variety of objections; — that the experience of Montjoy in military matters was small; — that neither in the Low

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Countries nor in Bretagne, where he had served, had he attained to any principal or independent command; — that his retainers were few or none; his purse inadequately furnished for the first expenses of so high an appointment; and that he was too much addicted to a sedentary and studious life. By this artful enumeration of the deficiencies of Montjoy, he was clearly understood to intimate his own superior fitness for the office. The queen, notwithstanding certain suspicions which had been infused into her of danger in committing to Essex the command of an army; and notwithstanding the unwillingness which she still felt to deprive herself of his presence, appears to have adopted with eagerness this suggestion of her favorite; — for she held in high estimation both his talents and his good fortune. Montjoy promptly retired from a competition in which he could not hope for success; the adherents of the earl, except a few of the more sagacious, eagerly forwarded his appointment, with imprudent eulogiums of his valor and his genius, and still more imprudent prognostications of his certain and complete success. His enemies, desirous of his absence and hopeful of his failure, concurred with no less zeal in the promotion of his wishes; and he soon found himself importuned on every side to accept the command. But it now became his part to make objections; — perhaps because he began to open his eyes to the difficulties to be confronted in Ireland; — perhaps, because he penetrated too late the designs and expectations of his adversaries at home; — perhaps, for his character was not free from artifice,

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because he chose by a display of reluctance to enhance in the eyes of his sovereign the merit of his final acquiescence. However this might be, the difficulties which he raised kept the business for some time in suspense. Secretary Cecil observed in a letter of December 4th, 1598, that "the opinion of the earl's going to Ireland had some stop, by reason of his lordship's indisposition to it, except with some such conditions as were disagreeable to her majesty's mind;" "although," he added, "the cup will hardly pass from him, in regard of his worth and fortune: but if it do, my lord Montjoy is named."[a]

It was in the midst of the debates and contentions on this matter that Essex endeavoured to work upon the feelings of Elizabeth by the following romantic but eloquent address: —

"To the Queen.

"From a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel, from a man that hateth himself and all things else that keep him alive, what service can your majesty expect; since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands? It is your rebels' pride and succession must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison, out of my loathed body; which, if it happeneth so, your majesty shall have no cause to

[a] *Birch.*

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mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.

" Happy could he finish forth his fate
In some unhaunted desert most obscure
From all society, from love and hate
Of worldly folk; then should he sleep secure,
Then wake again, and yield God ever praise,
Content with hips and haws and bramble-berry;
In contemplation passing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts to make him merry.
Who when he dies, his tomb may be a bush,
Where harmless robin dwells with gentle thrush."

" Your majesty's exiled servant,

" Robert Essex."

It seems also to have been at this juncture that on some public occasion he bore a plain mourning shield, with the words, " *Par nulla figura dolori.*"

A letter full of friendship and good sense addressed to Harrington by his relation Robert Markham, may serve to throw additional light on the situation and sentiments of Essex; and on the state of court-parties.

Mr. Robert Markham to John Harrington, Esquire.

" Notwithstanding the perilous state of our times, I shall not fail to give you such intelligence and advices of our matters here as may tend to your use and benefit. We have gotten good account of some matters; and as I shall find some safe conduct for bearing them to you, it may from time to time happen that I send tidings of our courtly concerns.

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"Since your departure from hence, you have been spoken of, and with no ill will, both by the nobles and the queen herself. Your book is almost forgiven; and I may say forgotten; but not for its lack of wit or satire. Those whom you feared most are now bosoming themselves in the queen's grace; and though her highness signified displeasure in outward sort, yet did she like the marrow of your book. Your great enemy, sir James, did once mention the Star-chamber; but your good esteem in better minds outdid his endeavours; and all is silent again. The queen is minded to take you to her favor, but she sweareth that she believes you will make epigrams and write *misacmos* again on her and all the court. She hath been heard to say, 'that merry poet, her godson, must not come to Greenwich till he hath grown sober and leaveth the ladies' sports and frolics.' She did conceive much disquiet on being told you had aimed a shaft at Leicester; I wish you knew the author of that ill deed; I would not be in his best jerkin for a thousand marks. You yet stand well in her highness' love; and I hear you are to go to Ireland with the lieutenant Essex; if so, mark my counsel in this matter. I doubt not your valor nor your labor; but that d——e uncovered honesty will mar your fortunes. Observe the man who commandeth, and yet is commanded himself; he goeth not forth to serve the queen's realm, but to humor his own revenge. Be heedful of your bearings, speak not your mind to all you meet. I tell you I have ground for my caution: Essex hath enemies; he hath friends too. Now there are two

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or three of Montjoy's kindred sent out in your army; they are to report all your conduct to us at home. As you love yourself, the queen, and me, discover not these matters; if I did not love you, they had never been told. High concerns deserve high attention; you are to take account of all that passes in your expedition; and keep journal thereof unknown to any in the company; this will be expected of you; I have reasons to give for this order.

"If the lord deputy performs in the field what he hath promised in the council, all will be well; but though the queen hath granted forgiveness for his late demeanor in her presence, we know not what to think hereof. She hath, in all outward semblance, placed confidence in the man who so lately sought other treatment at her hands; we do sometime think one way, and sometime another; what betideth the lord deputy is known to him only who knoweth all; but when a man hath so many showing friends and so many unshowing enemies, who learneth his end here below? I say, do not you meddle in any sort, nor give your jesting too freely among those you know not; obey the lord deputy in all things, but give not your opinion; it may be heard in England. Though you obey, yet seem not to advise in any one point; your obeysance may be, and must be, construed well; but your counsel may be ill thought of if any bad business follow.

"You have now a secret from one that wishes you all welfare and honor; I know there are overlookers set on you all, so God direct your discre-

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tion. Sir William Knolles is not well pleased; the queen is not well pleased; the lord deputy may be pleased now, but I sore fear what may happen hereafter. The heart of man lieth close hid oft time; men do not carry it in their hand, nor should they do so that wish to thrive in these times and in these places; I say this that your own honesty may not show itself too much and turn to your own ill favor. Stifle your understanding as much as may be; mind your books and make your jests, but take heed who they light on. My love hath overcome almost my confidence and trust, which my truth and place demandeth. I have said too much for one in my dependent occupation; and yet too little for a friend and kinsman, who putteth himself to this hard trial for your advantage. You have difficult matters to encounter beside Tyrone and the rebels; there is little heed to be had to show of affection in state business; I find this by those I discourse with daily; and those too of the wiser sort. If my lord treasurer had lived longer, matters would go on surer. He was our great pilot, on whom all cast their eyes and sought their safety. The queen's highness doth often speak of him in tears and turn aside when he is discoursed of; nay, even forbiddeth any mention to be made of his name in the council. This I learn by some friends who are in good liking with my lord Buckhurst.[a]

"My sister beareth this to you, but doth not

[a] Lord Buckhurst had succeeded to the office of lord treasurer on the death of Burleigh.

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know what it containeth, nor would I disclose my dealings to any woman in this sort; for danger goeth abroad, and silence is the safest armour." *

Such were the bodings of distant evil with which the more discerning contemplated the new and arduous enterprise in which the ambition of Essex had engaged him! In the meantime, all things conspired to delude him into a false security and to augment that presumption which formed the most dangerous fault of his character. The obstacles which had delayed his appointment were gradually smoothed away; the queen consented to invest him with powers far more ample than had ever been conferred on a lord deputy before; all his requisitions of men and other supplies were complied with; and an army of 20,000 foot and 1,300 horse, afterwards increased to 2,000 — a far larger force than Ireland had yet beheld — was placed at his disposal.

At parting, the tenderness of the queen revived in full force; and she dismissed him with expressions of regret and affection which, as he afterwards professed to her, had "pierced his very soul." The people followed him with acclamations and blessings: and the flower of the nobility now, as in the Cadiz expedition, attended him with alacrity as volunteers.

It was in the end of March 1599 that he embarked; and landing after a dangerous passage at Dublin, his first act was the appointment of his dear friend, the earl of Southampton, to the office of

* *Nugæ Antiquæ*

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general of the horse; a step which he afterwards found abundant cause to repent.

An error, of which the consequences were much more pernicious to himself, and fatal to the success of his undertaking, was his abandoning his original resolution of marching immediately against Tyrone, and spending his first efforts in the suppression of a minor revolt in Munster: — an attempt in which he encountered a resistance so much more formidable than he had anticipated, and found himself so ill supported by his troops, whom the nature of the service speedily disheartened, that its results were by no means so brilliant as to strike terror into Tyrone or the other insurgents. What was still worse, almost four months were occupied in this service; and the forces returned sick, wearied, and incredibly reduced in number by various accidents.

Learning that the queen was much displeased at this expedition into Munster, Essex addressed a letter to the council, in which, after affirming that he had performed his part to the best of his abilities and judgment, he thus proceeded: "But as I said and ever must say, I provided for this service a breast-plate, and not a cuirass; that is, I am armed on the breast, but not on the back; I armed myself with confidence that rebels in so unjust a quarrel could not fight so well as we could in a good. Howbeit if the rebels shall but once come to know that I am wounded on the back, not slightly, but to the heart, as I fear me they have too true and too apparent advertisement of this kind; then what will be their pride and the

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state's hazard, your lordships in your wisdoms may easily discern."

In a subsequent letter, the warmth of his friendship for Southampton breaks out in the following eloquent and forcible appeal: — "But to leave this and come to that which I never looked I should have come to; I mean your lordship's letter touching the displacing of the earl of Southampton; your lordships say, that her majesty thinketh it strange and taketh it offensively, that I should appoint him general of the horse; seeing not only her majesty denied it when I moved it, but gave an express prohibition to any such choice. Surely, my lord, it shall be far from me to contest with your lordships, much less with her majesty. Howbeit, God and my own soul are my witnesses, that I had not in this nomination any disobedient or irreverent thought; that I never moved her majesty for the placing of any officer, my commission fully enabling me to make free choice of all officers, and commanders of the army. I remember, that her majesty in her privy-chamber at Richmond, I only being with her, showed a dislike of his having any office; but my answer was, that if her majesty would revoke my commission, I would cast both it and myself at her majesty's feet. But if it pleased her majesty that I should execute it, I must work with my own instruments. And from this profession and protestation I never varied; whereas if I had held myself barred from giving my lord of Southampton place and reputation some way answerable to his degree and expense, there is no one, I think, doth imagine that I loved him so ill as to have

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brought him over. Therefore if her majesty punish me with her displeasure for this choice, *pœna dolenda venit.* And now, my lords, were now, as then it was, that I were to choose; or were there nothing in a new choice but my lord of Southampton's disgrace and my discomfort, I should easily be induced to displace him, and to part with him. But when, in obeying this command I must discourage all my friends; who now, seeing the days of my suffering draw near, follow me afar off and are some of them tempted to renounce me; when I must dismay the army, which already looks sadly, as pitying both me and itself in this comfortless action; when I must encourage the rebels, who doubtless will think it time to hew upon a withering tree, whose leaves they see beaten down, and the branches in part cut off; when I must disable myself for ever in the course of this service; the world now perceiving that I want either reason to judge of merit, or freedom to right it, disgraces being there heaped where, in my opinion, rewards are due; give just grief leave once to complain. O! miserable employment, and more miserable destiny of mine, that makes it impossible for me to please and serve her majesty at once! Was it treason in my lord of Southampton to marry my poor kinswoman, that neither long imprisonment, nor any punishment besides that hath been usual in like cases can satisfy and appease, or will no kind of punishment be fit for him, but that which punisheth, not him, but me, this army and this poor country of Ireland? Shall I keep the country when the army breaks? Or shall the army stand when all the

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volunteers leave it? Or will any voluntaries stay when those that have will and cause to follow are thus handled? No, my lords, they already ask passports and that daily." &c.

In spite of all this earnestness, — in spite of the remaining affection of the queen for her favorite, — she still persisted in requiring that he should displace his friend; and even chid him severely for having waited the result of his further representations and entreaties, after once learning her pleasure on the point. Success in the main object of his expedition might still, however, have procured him a triumph over his court-enemies and a sweet reconciliation with his offended sovereign; but fortune had no such favor in store for Essex. The necessity of quelling some rebels in Leinster again impeded his march into Ulster; for which expedition he was obliged to solicit a further supply from England of two thousand foot, which was immediately forwarded to him; as if with the design of leaving him without excuse should he fail to reduce Tyrone. But by this time the season was so far advanced and the army so sickly, that both the earl and the Irish council were of opinion that nothing effectual could be done; and at the first notice of his intended march, great part of his forces deserted. He nevertheless proceeded; and in a few days, during which a little skirmishing took place, came in sight of the rebel's main army, considerably more numerous than his own; Tyrone, however, would not venture to give him battle, but sent to request a parley. This, after some delay, the lord deputy granted; and a conference was held between them, Essex standing on the bank of a

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stream which separated the two hosts, while the rebel sat on his horse in the middle of the water. A truce was concluded, to be renewed from six weeks to six weeks, till terms of peace should be agreed on; those proposed by Tyrone containing several arrogant and unreasonable articles. At a second meeting with the Irish chief, Essex was attended by some of his principal officers; but it was afterwards proved, that previously to the first conference he had opened a very unwarrantable correspondence with this enemy of his queen and country; who took upon himself to promise that if Essex would come into his measures, he would make him the greatest man in England. During the whole of this time, sharp letters were passing between Elizabeth and her council and the earl; and it is hard to say on which side the heaviest list of grievances was produced. The queen remonstrated against his contemptuous disobedience of her orders; and the waste in frivolous enterprises of the vast supplies of men and money which she had intrusted to him for a specific and important object: — The earl, in addition to his usual murmurings against the sinister suggestions of his enemies,— amongst whom he singled out by name Raleigh, and Lord Cobham, found further grounds of complaint and alarm in the circumstance of her majesty's having caused some troops to be called out under the lord admiral, on pretext of fears from the Spaniards; but really, with a view of protecting herself against certain designs imputed to him; he also regarded himself as injured, by her having granted during his absence, the office of master of

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the wards to secretary Cecil, for which he was himself a suitor.

Apprehensive lest in case of his longer delay her affections should be irrevocably alienated from him by the discovery of his traitorous correspondence with Tyrone, Essex rashly resolved to risk yet another act of disobedience; — that of deserting, without license and under its present accumulated circumstances of danger, his important charge; and hastening to throw himself at the feet of an exasperated, but as he flattered himself, not an inexorable mistress. At one period he had even entertained the desperate and criminal design of carrying over with him a large part of his army, for the purpose of intimidating his adversaries; but being diverted from this scheme by sir Christopher Blount, his step-father, and the earl of Southampton, he embarked with the attendance only of most of his household and a number of his favorite officers; and arrived at the court, which was then at Nonsuch, on the morning of Michælmas eve 1599.

On alighting at the gate, covered with mire and stained with travel as he was, he hastened up stairs; passed through the presence and the privy-chamber, and never stopped till he reached the queen's bed-chamber, where he found her newly risen, with her hair about her face. He kneeled and kissed her hands; and she, in the agreeable surprise of beholding at her feet one whom she still loved, received him with so kind an aspect, and listened with such favor to his excuses, that on leaving her after a private conference of considerable duration, he appeared in high spirits, and thanked God, that

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though he had suffered many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. He waited on her again as soon as he had changed his dress: and after a second long and gracious conference, was freely visited by all the lords, ladies and gentlemen at court, excepting the secretary and his party; who appeared somewhat shy of him. But all these fair appearances quickly vanished. On revisiting the queen in the evening, he found her much changed towards him; she began to call him to account for his unauthorised return, and the hazard to which he had committed all things in Ireland; and four privy-counsellors were appointed by her to examine him that night and hear his answers; but by them nothing was concluded: and the matter was referred to a full council summoned for the following day, the earl being in the mean time commanded to keep his chamber. Notwithstanding the natural impetuosity of his temper, Essex now armed himself with patience and moderation, and answered with great gravity and discretion to the charges brought against him, which resolved themselves into the following articles. "His contemptuous disobedience of her majesty's letters and will in returning; his presumptuous letters written from time to time: his proceedings in Ireland contrary to the points resolved upon in England, ere he went: his rash manner of coming away from Ireland: his overbold going the day before to her majesty's presence to her bed-chamber: and his making of so many idle knights."[a] The council, after hearing

[a] *Rowland Whyte in Sidney Papers.*

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his defence, remained a while in consultation and then made their report to her majesty, who said she should take time to consider of his answers: meanwhile the proceedings were kept very private, and the earl continued a prisoner in his own apartment. An open division now took place between the two great factions which had long divided the court in secret. The earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham, lords Thomas Howard, Cobham and Grey, sir Walter Raleigh and sir George Carew, attended on the secretary; while Essex was followed by the earls of Worcester and Rutland, lords Montjoy, Rich, Lumley, and Henry Howard; the last of whom, however, was already suspected of treacherous designs towards the patron whom he professed to love, to honor, and almost to worship. Sir William Knolles also joined the party of his nephew, with many other knights and gentlemen; and lord Effingham, though son to the earl of Nottingham, was often with him and "protested all service" to him. "It is a world to be here," adds Whyte, "and see the humors of the place." On October the second, Essex was "commanded from court" and committed to the lord keeper; with whom he remained at York house. At his departure from court few or none of his friends accompanied him.

"His lordship's sudden return out of Ireland," says Whyte, "brings all sorts of knights, captains, officers and soldiers away from thence, that this town is full of them; to the great discontentment of her majesty, that they are suffered to leave their charge. But the most part of the gallants have quitted their commands, places, and com-

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panies, not willing to stay there after him; so that the disorder seems to be greater there than stands with the safety of that service."

Harrington, the wit and poet, had the misfortune to be one of the threescore "idle knights," dubbed by the lord deputy during his short and inglorious rule, and likewise one of the officers whom he selected to accompany him in his return, and we may learn from two of his own letters, written several years subsequently, after what manner he was welcomed on his arrival by his royal godmother.

"*Sir John Harrington to Dr. Still, the bishop of Bath and Wells.* 1603.

"My worthy lord,

"I have lived to see that d——e rebel Tyrone brought to England, courteously favored, honored and well liked. O! my lord, what is there which doth not prove the inconstancy of worldly matters! How did I labor after that knave's destruction! I was called from my home by her majesty's command; adventured perils by sea and land; endured toil; was near starving, ate horse-flesh at Munster; and all to quell that man, who now smileth in peace at those that did hazard their lives to destroy him. Essex took me to Ireland, I had scant time to put on my boots; I followed with good will and did return with the lord-lieutenant to meet ill-will; I did bear the frowns of her that sent me; and were it not for her good liking, rather than my good deservings, I had been sore discountenanced indeed. I obeyed in going with the earl to Ireland; and I

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obeyed in coming with him to England. But what did I encounter thereon: Not his wrath, but my gracious sovereign's ill humor. What did I advantage? Why truly a knighthood; which had been better bestowed by her that sent me, and better spared by him that gave it. I shall never put out of memory her majesty's displeasure; I entered her chamber, but she frowned and said, 'What, did the fool bring you too? Go back to your business.' In sooth these words did sore hurt him that never heard such before; but Heaven gave me more comfort in a day or two after. Her majesty did please to ask me concerning our northern journeys; and I did so well quit me of the account, that she favored me with such discourse that the earl himself had been well glad of. And now doth Tyrone dare us old commanders with his presence and protection."[a]

"*Sir John Harrington to Mr. Robert Markham*, 1606.

"My good cousin,

"Herewith you will have my journal, with our history during our march against the Irish rebels. I did not intend any eyes should have seen this discourse but my own children's; yet alas! it happened otherwise; for the queen did so ask, and I may say, demand my account, that I could not withhold showing it; and I, even now, almost tremble to rehearse her highness' displeasure hereat. She swore by God's son, we were all idle knaves,

[a] *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

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and the lord deputy worse, for wasting our time and her commands in such-wise as my journal doth write of.

"I could have told her highness of such difficulties, straits, and annoyance, as did not appear therein to her eyes, nor, I found, could be brought to her ear; for her choler did outrun all reason, though I did meet it at a second hand. For what show she gave at first to my lord deputy at his return was far more grevious, as will appear in good time.

"I marvel to think what strange humors do conspire to patch up the natures of some minds. The elements do seem to strive which shall conquer and rise above the other. In good sooth our late queen did infold them all together. I bless her memory for all her goodness to me and my family; and now will I show you what strange temperament she did sometimes put forth. Her mind was oftimes like the gentle air that cometh from the westerly point in a summer's morn; 'twas sweet and refreshing to all around her. Her speech did win all affections; and her subjects did try to show all love to her commands; for she would say, her state did require her to command what she knew her people would willingly do from their own love to her. Herein did she show her wisdom fully; for who did choose to lose her confidence; or who would withhold a show of love and obedience, when their sovereign said it was their own choice and not her compulsion? Surely she did play well her tables to gain obedience thus without constraint; again could she put forth such alterations, when obedience was lacking, as left no doubtings whose daughter she

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was. I say this was plain on the lord deputy's coming home, when I did come into her presence. She chafed much; walked fastly to and fro; looked with discomposure in her visage; and I remember, she catched my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore. 'By God's son I am no queen, that *man* is above me; — who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.' It was long before more gracious discourse did fall to my hearing; but I was then put out of my trouble, and bid go home. I did not stay to be bidden twice; if all the Irish rebels had been at my heels, I should not have made better speed, for I did now flee from one whom I both loved and feared too."[a]

The fate of Essex remained long in suspense, while several little circumstances seemed to indicate the strength of her majesty's resentment against him; especially her denying, to the personal request of lady Walsingham, permission for the earl to write to his countess, her daughter, who was in childbed, and exceedingly troubled that she neither saw nor heard from her husband; and afterwards her refusing to allow his family physician access to him, though he was now so ill as to be attended by several other physicians, with whom, however, Dr. Brown was permitted to consult. At the same time it was given out, that if he would beg his liberty for the purpose of going back to Ireland, it would be granted him; but he appeared resolute never to return thither, and professed a determin-

[a] *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

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ation of leading henceforth a retired life in the country, free from all participation in public affairs.

Pamphlets were written on his case, but immediately suppressed by authority; and perhaps at the request of the earl himself, whose behaviour at this time exhibited nothing but duty and submission. His sister lady Rich and his cousin lady Southampton, quitted Essex-house, and went into the country, because the resort of company to them had given offence. He himself neither saw nor desired to see any one. His very servants were afraid to meet in any place to make merry, lest it might be ill taken. "At the court," says Whyte, "lady Scrope is only noted to stand firm to him; for she endures much at her majesty's hands because she daily does all kind offices of love to the queen in his behalf. She wears all black; she mourns, and is pensive, and joys in nothing but in a solitary being alone. And 'tis thought she says much that few would venture to say but herself." This generous woman was daughter to the first lord Hunsdon, and nearly related both to the queen and to Essex. She was sister to the countess of Nottingham, who is believed to have acted a very opposite part.

About the middle of October strong hopes were entertained of the earl's enlargement; only it was said that "he stood to have his liberty by the like warrant he was committed." The secretary was now pleased to express to him the satisfaction that he felt in seeing her majesty so well appeased by his demeanor, and his own wish to promote his good and contentment; the reasons, too, which he had

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assigned for his conduct in Ireland appeared to have satisfied the council, and mollified the queen. But her majesty characteristically declared, that she would not bear the blame of his imprisonment; and before she and her council could settle among them on whom it should be made to rest, a new cause of exasperation arose. Tyrone, in a letter to Essex, which was intercepted, declared that he found it impossible to prevail on his confederates to observe the conditions of truce agreed upon between them; and the queen, relapsing into anger, triumphantly asked if there did not now appear good cause for the earl's committal? She immediately made known to lord Montjoy her wish that he should undertake the government of Ireland; but the friendship of this nobleman to Essex, suggesting a hope that the queen might be induced to liberate him by the necessity of again employing his talents in that country, induced Montjoy to excuse himself. The council unanimously recommended to her majesty the enlargement of the prisoner; but she angrily replied, that such contempts as he had been guilty of ought to be openly punished. They answered, that by her sovereign power and the rigor of law such punishment might indeed be inflicted; but that it would be inconsistent with her clemency and her honor; she however caused heads of accusation to be drawn up against him. All this time Essex continued very ill; and his high spirit condescended to acknowledgements like the following: —

"When the creature entereth into account with the Creator, it can never number in how many

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things it needs mercy, or in how many it receives it. But he that is best stored must still say, *da nobis hodie;* and he that hath showed most thankfulness, must ask again, *Quid retribuamus?* And I can no sooner finish this my first audit, most dear and most admired sovereign, but I come to consider how large a measure of his grace and how great a resemblance of his power, God hath given you upon earth; and how many ways he giveth occasion to you to exercise these divine offices upon us, that are your vassals. This confession best fitteth me of all men; and this confession is most joyfully and most humbly now made by me of all times. I acknowledge upon the knees of my heart your majesty's infinite goodness in granting my humble petition. God who seeth all, is witness, how faithfully I do vow to dedicate the rest of my life, next after my highest duty, in obedience, faith, and zeal to your majesty, without admitting any other worldly care; and whatsoever your majesty resolveth to do with me, I shall live and die

"Your majesty's humblest vassal,

"Essex."

The earl abased himself in vain: those courtiers who had formerly witnessed her majesty's tenderness and indulgence towards him, now wondered at the violence of her resentment; and somewhat of mystery still involves the motives of her conduct. At one time she deferred his liberation "because she heard that some of his friends and followers should say he was wrongfully im-

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prisoned:" and the French ambassador who spoke for him, found her very short and bitter on that point. Soon after, however, on hearing that he continued very sick and was making his will, she was surprised into some signs of pity; and gave orders that a few of his friends should be admitted to visit him, and that he should be allowed the liberty of the garden. Alarmed at these relentings, Raleigh, to whose nature the basest court-arts were not repugnant, thought proper to fall sick in his turn; and was healed in like manner by a gracious message from the queen. The countess of Essex was indefatigable in her applications to persons in power, but with little avail; all that was gained for the dejected prisoner was effected by the intercession of some of the queen's favorite ladies, who obtained leave for his two sisters to come to court and solicit for him. Soon after, the storm seemed to gather strength again; — a warrant was made out for the earl's committal to the Tower; and though it was not carried into force, "the hopes of liberty grew cold." About the middle of November lord Montjoy received orders to prepare for Ireland.

The appearance of the first part of a history in Latin of the life and reign of Henry IV. by sir John Hayward, dedicated to the earl of Essex, was the unfortunate occasion of fresh offence to the queen; the subject, as containing the deposition of a lawful prince, was in itself unpalatable, but what gave the work in her jealous eyes a peculiar and sinister meaning, was an expression addressed to the earl which may be thus rendered: "You

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are great both in present judgement and future expectation."

Hayward was detained a considerable time in prison; and the queen, from an idle suspicion that the piece was in fact the production of some more dangerous character, declared that she would have him racked to discover the secret. "Nay, madam," answered Francis Bacon, "he is a doctor; never rack his person, but rack his style. Let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off; and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author or no." And thus her mind was diverted from this atrocious purpose.

Measures had now been carried too far against the earl to admit of his speedy restoration to favor, whatever might be the secret sentiments of her majesty in his behalf; and her conduct respecting him preserved a vacillating and undecided character which marks the miserable perplexity of her mind; no longer enlightened by the clear and dispassionate judgement of Burleigh.

On one occasion she spoke of the earl with such favor as greatly to trouble the opposite party. Soon after, on his sending to her his patents of master of the horse and master of the ordnance, she immediately returned them to him; and at the same time his lady had leave to visit him. Two days after, the queen ordered a consultation of eight physicians upon his case; who gave little hope of his life, but earnestly recommended that his mind should be quieted; on which, unable longer to

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conceal her feelings, she sent Dr. James to him with some broth, and the message, that he should comfort himself, and that if she might consistently with her honor she would visit him; and it was noted that she had tears in her eyes as she spoke. But it was soon after hinted to her, that though divines watched by the bed of the earl and publicly prayed for him in their pulpits; some of them "with speeches tending to sedition;" his life was in no real danger. On this, she refused his sisters, his son, and his mother-in-law, permission to visit him, and ceased to make inquiries after his health; which was in no long time restored. A rich new-year's gift, which was sent "as it were in a cloud no man knew how," but thought to come from the earl, was left for some time in the hands of sir William Knolles, as neither accepted nor refused; but finally rejected with disdain on some new accession of anger. Yet the letters of lady Rich in his behalf were read, and her many presents received, as well as one from the countess of Leicester.

Lady Essex was now restrained for a time from making her daily visits to her husband; and the queen declared her intention of bringing him before the Star-chamber; but on his writing a very submissive letter, which was delivered by the secretary, the design was dropped; and the secretary, who had been earnest in his intercession with her majesty to spare this infliction, gained in consequence much credit with the public. About the middle of March the earl was suffered to remove, under the superintendence of a keeper, to

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his own house; for which he returned thanks to her majesty in very grateful terms, saying that "this further degree of her goodness sounded in his ears as if she had said, 'Die not, Essex; for though I punish thine offence and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be served again by thee.' And my prostrate soul," he adds, "makes this answer; 'I hope for that blessed day.'" Two months afterwards, however, perceiving no immediate prospect of his return to favor or to liberty, he addressed her in a more expostulating style, thus: —

"Before all letters written with this hand be banished, or he that sends this enjoin himself eternal silence, be pleased, I humbly beseech your majesty, to read over these few lines. At sundry times and by several messengers, I received these words as your majesty's own; that you meant to correct, but not to ruin. Since which time, when I languished in four months' sickness; forfeited almost all that I was able to engage; felt the very pangs of death upon me, and saw that poor reputation, whatsoever it was, that I had hitherto enjoyed, not suffered to die with me, but buried and I alive; I yet kissed your majesty's fair correcting hand, and was confident in your royal words. For I said unto myself; 'Between my ruin and my sovereign's favor there is no mean: and if she bestow favor again, she gives with it all things that in this world I either need or desire.' But now, the length of troubles and the continuance, or rather the increase, of your majesty's indignation, hath made all men so afraid of me, as mine own state is

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not only ruined, but my kind friends and faithful servants are like to die in prison because I cannot help myself with mine own. Now I do not only feel the intolerable weight of your majesty's indignation, and am subject to their wicked information that first envied me for my happiness in your favor and now hate me out of custom; but, as if I were thrown into a corner like a dead carcase, I am gnawed on and torn by the vilest and basest creatures upon earth. The tavern-haunter speaks of me what he lists. Already they print me and make me speak to the world; and shortly they will play me in what forms they list upon the stage. The least of these is a thousand times worse than death. But this is not the worst of my destiny; for your majesty, that hath mercy for all the world but me, — that hath protected from scorn and infamy all to whom you once vowed favor but Essex, — and never repented you of any gracious assurance you had given till now; your majesty, I say, hath now, in this eighth month of my close imprisonment, — as if you thought my infirmities, beggary, and infamy, too little punishment for me, — rejected my letters, refused to hear of me; which to traitors you never did. What therefore remaineth for me? Only this, to beseech your majesty, on the knees of my heart, to conclude my punishment, my misery, and my life together; that I may go to my Saviour who hath paid himself a ransom for me; and whom, methinks, I still hear calling me out of this unkind world, in which I have lived too long, and once thought myself too happy.

"From your majesty's humblest servant,

"Essex."

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At length the queen prepared to make an end of this lingering business; the earl's entreaties that it might not be made a Star-chamber matter, were listened to; and eighteen commissioners were selected out of the council, to discuss his conduct, hear his accusation and defence, and finally pronounce upon him such a *censure*[a], — for it was not to be called a *sentence*, — as they should see fit. The crown-lawyers, — amongst whom Francis Bacon chose to take his place, though the queen had offered to excuse his attendance on account of the ties of gratitude which ought to have attached him to Essex, — spoke one after another in aggravation of his offence; and some of them, as Coke, the attorney-general, with great virulence of language. Next came the prisoner's defence, which he pronounced kneeling; an attitude in which he was suffered to remain during a great part of the proceedings. He began with a humble avowal of his errors and many expressions of penitence and humility towards her majesty; a temperate apology for particular parts of his conduct, followed; but as he was proceeding to reflect in some points on the conduct of the Irish council and to refute the exaggerated charges of his enemies, he was interrupted by the lord-keeper; who reminded him that this was not a course likely to do him good. The earl explained that he had no wish but to clear himself of disloyalty: it was answered, that with this he never had been charged. The pathetic eloquence

[a] The word *censure* was not yet restricted to its modern signification; it was used for a judgement or decision generally, whether favorable or otherwise.

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of the noble prisoner moved many of the council to tears; and was not without its effect on his enemies themselves. The secretary, who was the first to rise in reply, even in refuting a part of his excuses, did him justice in other points, and treated him on the whole with great courtesy. Finally, it was the unanimous judgement of the council, that the earl should abstain from exercising the functions of privy councillor, earl-marshal, or master of the ordnance; that he should return to his own house, and there remain a prisoner as before, till it should please her majesty to remit both this and all the other parts of the sentence.

By this solemn hearing the mind of the queen was much tranquillized; because her grave counsellors and learned judges in their speeches "amplifying her majesty's clemency and the earl's offences, according to the manner in the Star-chamber," had held him worthy of much more punishment than he had yet received. A few days after, her majesty repaired to lady Russel's house in Blackfriars to grace the nuptials of her daughter, a maid of honor, with lord Herbert, son of the earl of Worcester; — on which occasion it may be mentioned, that she was conveyed from the water-side in a *lectica*, or half-litter, borne by six knights. — After dining with the wedding company, she passed to the neighbouring house of lord Cobham to sup. Here she was entertained with a mask of eight ladies, who, after performing their appointed part, chose out eight ladies more to dance the measure; when Mrs. Fitton, the principal masker, came and "wooed" the queen also to dance. Her majesty

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inquired who she was. "Affection," she replied. "*Affection*," said the queen, "*is false*;" yet she rose and danced.

Elizabeth was now possessed with a strange fancy of *unmaking* the knights made by Essex; being flattered in this folly by Bacon, who assured her, that her general had no right to confer that degree after a prohibition laid upon him by her majesty. She was resolved to command, at least, that no ancient gentleman should give place to these new knights; and she had actually signed the warrant for a proclamation to this effect, when the timely interference of the secretary saved her from thus exposing herself.

Late in August 1600, the earl was acquainted in form by the privy council that his liberty was restored, but that he was still prohibited from appearing at court. He answered, that it was his design to lead a retired life at his uncle's in Oxfordshire, yet he begged their intercession that he might be admitted to kiss the queen's hand before his departure. But this was still too great a favor to be accorded; and he was informed, that though free from restraint, he was still to regard himself as under indignation; a distinction which served to deter all but his nearest relations from resorting to him.

In the spring of this year, Vereiken, an ambassador from Flanders, was very honorably received by the queen, whose counsels had assumed a more pacific aspect since the disgrace of Essex.

Whyte informs us, with his usual minuteness, that this ambassador was lodged with alderman

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Baning in Dowgate; and that he was fetched to court in great state, the whole household being drawn up in the hall; the great ladies and fair maids appearing "excellently brave" in the rooms through which he passed; and the queen, very richly dressed and surrounded by her council, extending to him a most gracious reception. He solemnly congratulated himself on the happiness of beholding her majesty, "who for *beauty* and wisdom did excel all other princes of the earth;" and she, in requital, promised to consider of his proposals. The negotiation proved in the end abortive; but great offence was taken at the publication, in this juncture, of a letter by the earl of Essex against a peace with Spain.

Raleigh was at this time leaving London in discontent because nothing was done for him; — it does not appear what was now the particular object of his solicitation; but a writer has recorded it as an instance of the prudent reserve of Elizabeth in the advancement of her courtiers, that she would never admit the eloquent and ambitious Raleigh to a seat at her council-board.[a]

In the midst of her extreme anxiety for the fate of Ireland, — where Tyrone for the present carried all things at his will, boasting himself the champion of the Romish cause and proclaiming his expectation of Spanish aid; — and of her more intimate and home-felt uneasiness respecting the effect of her measures of chastisement on the haughty mind of Essex; — we find Elizabeth promoting with some affectation the amusements of her court. "This

[a] *Bohun's Memoirs.*

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day," says Whyte, "she appoints to see a Frenchman do feats upon a cord in the conduit-court. Tomorrow she hath commanded the bears, the bull, and the ape, to be baited in the tilt-yard; upon Wednesday she will have solemn dancing."

A letter from sir Robert Sidney to sir John Harrington, written some time in this year, affords some further traits of her behaviour, mixed with other matters.

"Worthy knight;

"Your present to the queen was well accepted of; she did much commend your verse, nor did she less praise your prose..... The queen hath tasted your dainties, and saith you have marvellous skill in cooking of good fruits. If I can serve you in your northern suit, you may command me.... Our lawyers say, your title is well grounded in conscience, but that strict law doth not countenance your recovering those lands of your ancestors.... Visit your friends often, and please the queen by all you can, *for all the great lawyers do much fear her displeasure*..... I do see the queen often; she doth wax weak since the late troubles, and Burleigh's death doth often draw tears from her goodly cheeks: she walketh out but little, meditates much alone; and sometimes writes in private to her best friends. The Scottish matters do cause much discourse, but we know not the true grounds of state business, nor venture further on such ticklish points.[a] Her highness hath done honor to my

[a] The mysterious affair of the Gowrie conspiracy is probably here alluded to.

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poor house by visiting me; and seemed much pleased at what we did to please her. My son made her a fair speech, to which she did give most gracious reply. The women did dance before her, whilst the cornets did salute from the gallery; and she did vouchsafe to eat two morsels of rich comfit cake, and drank a small cordial out of a golden cup. She had a marvellous suit of velvet, borne by four of her first women-attendants in rich apparel; two ushers did go before; and at going up stairs she called for a staff, and was much wearied in walking about the house, and said she wished to come another day. Six drums and six trumpets waited in the court and sounded at her approach and departure. My wife did bear herself in wondrous good liking, and was attired in a purple kirtle fringed with gold; and myself in a rich band and collar of needle-work; and did wear a goodly stuff of the bravest cut and fashion, with an under body of silver and loops. The queen was much in commendation of our appearances, and smiled at the ladies who in their dances often came up to the step on which the seat was fixed to make their obeisance, and so fell back into their order again. The younger Markham did several gallant feats on a horse before the gate, leaping down and kissing his sword, then mounting swiftly on the saddle and passing a lance with much skill. The day well nigh spent, the queen went and tasted a small beverage that was set out in divers rooms where she might pass; and then in much order was attended to her palace; the cornets and trumpets sounding through the streets."

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The fate of Essex was now drawing to a crisis. The mixture of severity and indulgence with which he had been treated; her majesty's perseverance in refusing to re-admit him to her presence, though all other liberty was restored to him; — her repeated assurances that she meant only to chastise, not to ruin him, contrasted with the tedious duration of her anger and the utter uncertainty when, or by what means, it was to be brought to an end; — had long detained him in the mazes of a tormenting uncertainty: but he at length saw the moment when her disposition towards him must be brought to a test which he secretly assured his adherents that he should regard as decisive.

The term for which the earl had held the lucrative farm of sweet wines would expire at Michaelmas; he was soliciting its renewal; and on the doubtful balance of success or failure his already wavering loyalty was suspended. He spared on this occasion no expressions of humility and contrition which might soften the heart of the queen: — He professed to kiss the hand and the rod with which he had been corrected; to look forward to the beholding again those blessed eyes, so long his Cynosure, as the only real happiness which he could ever enjoy; and he declared his intention with Nebuchodonosor, to make his habitation with the beasts of the field, to eat hay like an ox, and to be wet with the dews of heaven, until it should please the queen to restore him. To lord Henry Howard, who was the bearer of these dutiful phrases, Elizabeth expressed her unfeigned satis-

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faction to find him in so proper a frame of mind; she only wished, she said, that his deeds might answer to his words; and as he had long tried her patience, it was fit that she should make some experiment of his humility. Her father would never have endured such perversity; — but she would not now look back: — All that glittered was not gold; but if such results came forth from her furnace, she should ever after think the better of her chemistry. Soon after, having detected the motive of immediate interest which had inspired such moving expressions of penitence and devotion, her disgust against Essex was renewed; and in the end, she not only rejected his suit, but added the insulting words, that "an ungovernable beast must be stinted of his provender," in order to bring him under management.

The spirit of Essex could endure no more; — rage took possession of his soul; and equally desperate in fortune and in mind, he prepared to throw himself into any enterprise which the rashness of the worst advisers could suggest. It was at this time that he is reported, in speaking of the queen, to have used the expression, maliciously repeated to her by certain court-ladies, — that through old age her mind was become as crooked as her carcase; — words which might have sufficed to plunge him at once from the height of favor into irretrievable ruin.

The doors of Essex-house, hitherto closed night and day since the disgrace of the earl, were now thrown popularly open. Sir Gilly Merrick, his steward, kept an open table for all military adven-

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turers, men of broken fortunes, and malcontents of every party. Sermons were delivered there daily by the most zealous and popular of the puritan divines, to which the citizens ran in crowds, and lady Rich, who had lately been placed under restraint by the queen, and was still in deep disgrace on account of her intermeddling in the affairs of her brother, and on the further ground of her scandalous intrigue with lord Montjoy, became a daily visitant. The earl himself, listening again to the suggestions of his secretary Cuff, whom he had once dismissed on account of his violent and dangerous character, began to meditate new counsels.

An eye-witness has thus impressively described the struggles of his mind at this juncture. "It resteth with me in opinion, that Ambition thwarted in his career doth speedily lead on to madness: herein I am strengthened by what I learn in my lord of Essex, who shifteth from sorrow and repentance to rage and rebellion so suddenly as well proveth him devoid of good reason or right mind; in my last discourse he uttered such strange words, bordering on such strange designs, that made me hasten forth and leave his presence. Thank Heaven I am safe at home; and if I go in such troubles again, I deserve the gallows for a meddling fool. His speeches of the queen becometh no man who hath *mens sana in corpore sano*. He hath ill advisers, and much evil hath sprung from this source.

"The queen well knoweth how to humble the haughty spirit; the haughty spirit knoweth not

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how to yield; and the man's soul seemeth tossed to and fro like the waves of a troubled sea."[a]

The affinity of Essex to the crown by his descent from Thomas of Woodstock has been already adverted to; — it seems never to have awakened the slightest jealousy in the mind of Elizabeth; but the absurd vaunts of some of his followers, commented upon by the malicious ingenuity of his enemies, had sufficed to excite sinister suspicions in the bosom of the king of Scots. For the purpose of counteracting these, lord Montjoy, near the beginning of the earl's captivity, had sent Henry Leigh into Scotland, to give the king assurance that Essex entertained none of the ambitious views which had been imputed to him; but was, on the contrary, firmly resolved to endure no succession but that of his majesty; further hinting at some steps for causing his right to be recognised in the lifetime of the queen. From this time a friendly correspondence had been maintained between James and the Essex party; and Montjoy, on being appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, had gone so far as to offer to the king to bring over to England such a part of his army as, acting in concert with the force that the earl would be able to raise, might compass by violence the object which they had in view. By some delay in the return of the messenger, added to the dilatoriness or reluctance of James, this plan was frustrated; but some time after, Essex, impatient alike of the disgrace and the inactivity of his present restraint,

[a] *Sir John Harrington in Nugæ.*

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urged Montjoy to bring over his forces without waiting for the tardy co-operation of the king of Scots. The lord-deputy replied, "that he thought it more lawful to enter into such a course with one that had interest in the succession than otherwise; and though he had been led before, out of the opinion he had to do his country good by the establishment of the succession, and to deliver my lord of Essex out of the danger he was in; yet now his life appeared to be safe, to restore his fortune only, and to save himself from the danger which hangs over him by discovery, and to satisfy my lord of Essex's private ambition, he would not enter into any enterprise of that kind." *

After this repulse, Essex as a last resource applied himself once more to the court of Scotland, and with the disingenuousness inseparable from the conduct of political intrigue, exerted all his efforts to deceive James into a belief that the party now in power were pensioners of Spain, hired to the support of the pretended title of the Infanta. He further alarmed the king by representing that the places most proper for the reception of Spanish forces were all in the hands of the creatures of Cecil; — Raleigh being governor of Jersey, lord Cobham warden of the Cinque Ports, lord Burleigh president of the North, and sir George Carew president of Munster. In consequence, he urged James to lose no time in claiming by his ambassadors a solemn acknowledgement of his title. These suggestions were listened to; and Essex

* *Confession of Sir Charles Davers, in Birch's Memoirs.*

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was animated to proceed in his perilous career by hopes of the speedy arrival of the Scottish embassy. In the mean time he formed a council of five of the friends most devoted to his cause: — the earl of Southampton, sir Charles Davers, sir Ferdinando Gorges, sir John Davis surveyor of the ordnance, and John Lyttleton esquire of Frankley. By this junto, which met privately at Drury-house, the plot was matured. The earl delivered in a list of one hundred and twenty nobles, knights and gentlemen, on whose attachment he thought he could rely: it was agreed that an attempt should be made to seize the palace and to persuade or compel the queen to remove from her councils the enemies of the earl, and to summon a new parliament; and their respective parts were allotted to the intended actors in this scene of violence.

Meantime, the extraordinary concourse to Essex-house had fixed the attention of the ministers; and measures were taken for obtaining intelligence of all that passed within its walls. Lord Henry Howard, whom Essex ought to have distrusted, as well as despised, on account of the terms of gross and shameless adulation in which he had professed to him an everlasting and unlimited attachment, is believed to have discovered some of his secrets; and a domestic educated with the earl from childhood and entirely trusted by him, had also the baseness to reveal his counsels. On the 7th of February 1601, the council, being fully informed of his proceedings, dispatched secretary Herbert to summon the earl to appear before them. But apprehensive that he was betrayed, and

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conscious that the steps which he had already taken were incapable of being justified, he excused himself from attending the council; and summoning around him the most confidential of his friends, he represented to them that they were on the point of being committed to prison; and bade them decide whether they would quietly submit themselves to the disposal of their enemies, or attempt thus prematurely to carry into effect the designs which they had meditated.

During the debate which ensued, a person entered, who pretended to be deputed by the people of London to assure the earl of their cordial co-operation in his cause. This decided the question; Essex, with a more cheerful countenance, began to expatiate on the affection borne him by the city, and his expectation of being joined by sheriff Smith with a thousand of the trained bands whom he commanded. The following morning was fixed for the insurrection; in the mean time emissaries were dispatched, who ran about the town in all directions, to spread among the friends of the earl the alarm of a design upon his life by Cobham and Raleigh.

Early on the morrow the lord-keeper, the lord-chief-justice, and sir W. Knolles comptroller of the household, arrived at Essex-house and demanded entrance on the part of the queen. They themselves were with difficulty admitted through the wicket of the gate, which was now kept shut and guarded; but all their servants, except the purse-bearer, were excluded. They beheld the court-yard filled with a confused multitude, in the

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midst of which stood Essex, accompanied by the earls of Southampton and Rutland, and many others. The lord-keeper demanded in the name of her majesty the cause of this unusual concourse; adding an assurance, that if any had injured his lordship, he should find redress. Essex in a vehement manner complained of letters counterfeited in his name, — of designs against his life, — of perfidious dealings towards him; but the conference was interrupted by the clamors of the crowd, some of whom threatened violence against the court-emissaries. Without further parley the earl conducted them into the house, where he ordered them to be safely kept as hostages till his return from the city, whither he was hastening to take measures with the lord-mayor and sheriffs.

About ten o'clock he entered the city attended by the "chief gallants" of the time; as, the earls of Southampton and Rutland, lords Sandys and Monteagle, sir Charles Davers, sir Christopher Blount, and many others. As they passed Fleet-street, they cried, "For the queen, for the queen!" In other places they gave out that Cobham and Raleigh would have murdered the earl in his bed, and the multitude, universally well affected to Essex, eagerly reported that he and the queen were reconciled; and that she had appointed him to ride in that triumphant manner through the city to his house in Seething-lane. The lord-mayor, however, received warning from the council to look well to his charge; and by eleven the gates were closed and strongly guarded. The earl, though a good deal disconcerted at observing

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no preparations for joining him, made his way to the house of sheriff Smith; but this officer slipped out at his back door and hastened to the lord-mayor for instructions. He next proceeded to an armourer's and demanded ammunition, which was refused; and while he was hastening to and fro, without aim or object as appears, lord Burleigh courageously entered the city with a king-at-arms and half-a-score horsemen, and in two places proclaimed the earl and all his adherents traitors. A pistol was fired at him by one of the followers of Essex, but the multitude showed no disposition to molest him, and he hastened back to assure the queen that a popular commotion was not at all to be apprehended.

The palace was now fortified and double-guarded; the streets were blocked up with carts and coaches; and the earl, after wandering in vain about the town till two o'clock, finding himself joined by none of the citizens and deserted by a great portion of his original followers, determined to make his way back to Essex-house. At Ludgate he was opposed by some troops posted there by order of the bishop; and drawing his sword, he directed sir Christopher Blount to attack them; "which he did with great bravery, and killed Waite, a stout officer who had been formerly hired by the earl of Leicester to assassinate sir Christopher; and was now abandoned by his company." In the end, however, the earl was repulsed with the loss of one young gentleman killed and sir Christopher Blount

[a] *Birch's Memoirs.*

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wounded and taken prisoner; and retreating with his diminished band to the river side, he returned by water to his own house.

He was much disappointed to find that his three prisoners had been liberated in his absence by sir Ferdinando Gorges: but, sanguine to the last in his hopes of an insurrection of the citizens in his favor, he proceeded to fortify his house in the best manner that circumstances would permit.

It was soon invested by a considerable force under the lord-admiral, the earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, and other commanders. Sir Robert Sidney was ordered to summon the little garrison to surrender, when the earl of Southampton demanded terms and hostages; but being answered that none would be granted to rebels, except that the ladies within the house and their women would be permitted to depart if they desired it; the defenders declared their resolution to hold out, and the assault continued.

Lord Sandys, the oldest man in the party, encouraged the earl in the resolution which he once appeared to have adopted, of cutting a way through the assailants; observing, that the boldest courses were the safest; and that at all events it was more honorable for men of quality to die sword in hand than by the axe of the executioner; — but Essex, who had not yet resigned the flattering hopes of life, was easily moved by the tears and cries of the surrounding females to yield to less courageous, not more prudent, counsels. Captain Owen Salisbury, a brave veteran, seeing that all was lost, planted himself at a window bare-headed, for the

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purpose of being slain; on receiving from one of the assailants a bullet on the side of his head, "O!" cried he, "that thou hadst been so much my friend to have shot but a little lower!" Of this wound, however, he expired the next morning.

About six in the evening the earl made known his willingness to surrender, on receiving assurance, for himself and his friends, of civil treatment and a legal trial; and permission for a clergyman named Aston to attend him in prison: — the lord-admiral answered that of the two first articles there could be no doubt, and for the last he would intercede. The house was then yielded, with all that were in it. During that night the principal offenders were lodged in Lambeth-palace, the next day they were conveyed to the Tower; while the common prisons received the accomplices of meaner rank.

On February 19th Essex and Southampton were brought to their trial before the house of peers; lord Buckhurst sitting as lord-high-steward. Essex enquired whether peers might not be challenged like common jurymen, but was answered in the negative. He pleaded Not guilty; professed his unspotted loyalty to his queen and country, and earnestly labored to give to his attempt to raise the city the color of a necessary act of self-defence against the machinations of enemies from whom his life was in danger. Had this interpretation of his conduct been admitted, possibly his offence might not have come within the limits of treason: but it was held, that his refusal to attend the council; the imprisonment of the

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three great officers sent to him by the queen; and above all the consultations held at Drury-house for bringing soldiers from Ireland for surprising the Tower, for seizing the palace, and for compelling the queen to remove certain persons from her councils and to call a parliament, — imparted to his overt acts the character of designs against the state itself. For the confessions of his accomplices, by which the secrets of the Drury-house meetings were brought to light, he was evidently unprepared, and the native violence of his temper broke out in invectives against those associates by whom, as he falsely pretended, all these criminal designs had been originally suggested to his mind. This evidence, he said, had been elicited by the hope of pardon and reward; — let those who had given it enjoy their lives with impunity; — to him death was far more welcome than life. Whatever interpretation lawyers might put upon it, the necessity of self-defence against Cobham, Raleigh, and Cecil, had impelled him to raise the city; and he was consoled by the testimony of a spotless conscience. Lord Cobham here rose, and protested that he had never acted with malice against the earl, although he had disapproved of his ambition. "On my faith," replied the earl, "I would have given this right hand to have removed from the queen such an informer and calumniator."

He afterwards proceeded to accuse sir Robert Cecil of having affirmed that the title of the Infanta was equally well founded with that of any other claimant. But the secretary here stepped forward to entreat that the prisoner might be

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obliged to bring proof of his assertions; and it thus became manifest, — and in the end was confessed with contrition by the earl himself, — that he had advanced this charge on false grounds.

It was with better reason that he reproached Francis Bacon, who then stood against him as queen's counsel, with the glaring inconsistency between his past professions and his present conduct. This cowardly desertion of his generous and affectionate friend and patron; — or rather this open revolt from him, this shameless attack upon him in the hour of his extreme distress and total ruin; — forms indeed the foulest of the many blots which stain the memory of this illustrious person: It may even be pronounced, on a deliberate survey of all its circumstances, the basest and most profligate act of that reign; which yet affords examples, in the conduct of its public men, of almost every species of profligacy and baseness. That it continued to be matter of general reproach against him, clearly appears from the long and labored apology which Bacon thought it necessary, several years afterwards, to address to lord Montjoy, then earl of Devon; — an apology which extenuates in no degree the turpitude of the fact; but which may be consulted for a number of highly curious, if authentic, particulars.

The earl of Southampton likewise pleaded Not guilty, and professed his inviolate fidelity towards her majesty; he excused whatever criminality he might have fallen into by the warmth of his attachment for Essex, and behaved throughout with a mildness and an ingenuous modesty which moved

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all hearts in his favor. After a trial of eleven hours, sentence of Guilty was unanimously pronounced on both the prisoners. Southampton in an affecting manner implored all present to intercede for him with her majesty; and Essex with great earnestness joined in this petition of his unfortunate friend: As to himself, he said, he was not anxious for life; wishing for nothing more than to lay it down with entire fidelity towards God and his prince. — Yet he would have no one insinuate to the queen that he despised her mercy, though he believed he should not too submissively implore it; and he hoped all men would in their consciences acquit him, though the law had pronounced him guilty. Such was the lofty tone of self-justification assumed by Essex on this memorable occasion, when his pride was roused and his temper exasperated by the open war of recrimination and reproaches into which he had so unadvisedly plunged with his personal enemies, and by the cruel and insolent invectives of the crown-lawyers. But he was soon to undergo on this point a complete and remarkable conversion.

The mind of the earl of Essex was deeply imbued with sentiments of religion: from early youth he had conversed much with divines of the stricter class, whom he held in habitual reverence; and conscious in the conduct of his past life of many deviations from the Gospel rule of right, he now, in the immediate prospect of its violent termination, surrendered himself into the hands of these spiritual guides with extraordinary humility

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and implicit submission. To the criminality of his late attempt his conscience was not however awakened: he seems to have believed, that in contriving the fall of his enemies he was at the same time deserving the thanks of his country, oppressed by their mal-administration; and he repelled all the efforts of Dr. Dove, by whom he was first visited, to inspire him with a different sense of this part of his conduct. But his favorite divine, Mr. Aston; — who is described by a contemporary as "a man base, fearful, and mercenary," in whom the earl was much deceived; — practised with more success upon his mind. By artfully assuming that he had aimed at the crown, he first drew him into a warm defence of his conduct on this point; then by degrees into a confession of all that he had really designed and the concurrence which he had found from others. This was the end aimed at by Aston, or by the government which employed him: he protested that he could not reconcile it to his conscience to conceal treasons so foul and dangerous; — alarmed the earl with all the terrors of religion; — and finally persuaded him that a full discovery of his accomplices was the only atonement which he could make to heaven and earth. The humbled Essex was brought to entreat that several councillors, of whom Cecil by name was one, should be sent to hear his confessions; and so strangely scrupulous did he show himself to leave nothing untold, that he even gave up the letters of the king of Scots; and betrayed every private friend whom attachment to himself had seduced into

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an acquiescence in his designs, or a nice sense of honor withheld from disclosing them.

Sir Henry Nevil, for having only concealed projects in which he had absolutely refused to concur, was thus exposed to the loss of his appointment of ambassador to France, to imprisonment, and to a long persecution; and lord Montjoy might have suffered even capitally, had not his good and acceptable service in Ireland induced the queen to wink at former offences. Cuff, the secretary of the earl, when sent for and exhorted by him to imitate his sincerity, sternly upbraided his master with his altered mind and his treachery towards those who had evinced the strongest attachment to his service: but the earl remained unmoved by his just reproaches, and calmly prepared for death in the full persuasion that he had now worked out his own salvation.

Elizabeth had behaved during the insurrection with all her wonted fortitude; even at the time when Essex was actually in the city, and a false report was brought her of its having revolted to him, "she was never more amazed," — says Cecil in a letter to sir George Carew, — "than she would have been to have heard of a fray in Fleet-street." But when, in the further progress of the affair, she beheld her once-loved Essex brought to the bar for high treason and condemned by the unanimous verdict of his peers; — when it rested solely with herself to take the forfeit of his life, or interfere by an act of special grace for his preservation; — her grief, her agitation, and her perplexity became extreme. A strong sense of the

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many fine qualities and rare endowments of her kinsman; — his courage, his eloquence, his generosity, and the affectionate zeal with which he had served her; — indulgence for the youthful impetuosity which had carried him out of the path of duty, not unmixed with compunction for that severe and contemptuous treatment by which she had exasperated to rebellion the spirit which mildness might have softened into penitence and submission; — above all, the remaining affection which still lurked at the bottom of her heart, pleaded for mercy with a force scarcely to be withstood. On the other hand, the ingratitude, the neglect, the insolence with which he had occasionally treated her, and the magnitude of his offences, which daily grew upon her by his own confessions and those of his accomplices, fatally united to confirm the natural bias of her mind towards severity.

At this juncture Thomas Leigh, — one of the dark and desperate characters whose service Essex had used in his criminal negotiations with Tyrone, — by an atrocious plot for entering the palace, seizing the person of the queen, and compelling her to sign a warrant for the release of the two earls, renewed her fears and gave fresh fuel to her anger. Irresolute for some days, she once countermanded by a special messenger the order for the death of Essex; then, as repenting of her weakness, she signed a second warrant, in obedience to which he was finally, on February 25th, brought to the scaffold.

The last scene was performed in a manner correspondent in all respects to the contrite and hu-

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miliated frame of mind into which the noble culprit had been wrought. It was no longer the brave, the gallant, the haughty earl of Essex; the favorite of the queen, the admiration of the ladies, the darling of the soldiery, the idol of the people; — no longer even the undaunted prisoner, pouring forth invectives against his enemies in answer to the charges against himself, loudly asserting the innocency of his intentions, instead of imploring mercy for his actions, and defending his honor while he professed a lofty indifference to life; — it was a meek and penitent offender, profoundly sensible of all his past transgressions, but taught to expect their remission, in the world to which he was hastening, through the fervency of his prayers and the plenitude of his confessions; and prepared, as his latest act, to perform in public a solemn religious service, composed for his use by the assistant clergy; whose directions he obeyed with the most scrupulous and servile minuteness. Under a change so humiliating, even his native eloquence had forsaken him. Sir Robert Cecil, who seems to have been a cool and critical spectator of the fatal scene, remarks to his correspondent, that "the conflict between the flesh and the soul did thus far appear; that in his prayers he was fain to be helped; otherwise no man living could pray more christianly, than he did."

Essex had requested of the queen that he might be put to death in a private manner within the walls of the Tower; fearing, as he told the divines who attended him, that "the acclamations of the citizens should have hoven him up." His desire in

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this point was willingly complied with; but about a hundred nobles, knights, and gentlemen, witnessed the event from seats placed near the scaffold. Sir Walter Raleigh chose to station himself at a window of the armory, whence he could see all without being observed by the earl. This action, universally imputed to a barbarous desire of glutting his eyes with the blood of the man whom he hated and had pursued with a hostility more unrelenting than that of Cecil himself, was never forgiven by the people, who detested him no less than they loved and admired his unfortunate rival. Several years after, when Raleigh in his turn was brought to the same end in the same place, he publicly protested, that the sorrowful spectacle had melted him to tears; and it was perhaps true; for the bitterness of gratified revenge would at length come home to a soul like that of Raleigh. He did not fail, however, to extract from the late events large gratification for another ruling passion of his breast, by setting to sale, to gentlemen concerned in the insurrection, his interest in procuring pardons. Mr. Lyttleton, in particular, is recorded to have paid him ten thousand pounds for his good offices, and Mr. Bainham a sum not specified. The life of the earl of Southampton was spared, at the intercession chiefly of Cecil; but he was confined in the Tower till the death of the queen; others escaped with short imprisonments and the imposition of fines, few of which were exacted; sir Fulk Greville having humanely made it his business to represent to the queen that no danger was to be apprehended from a faction which had

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lost its leader. Four only of the principal conspirators suffered capitally; sir Christopher Blount and sir Charles Davers, both catholics, and sir Gilly Merrick the steward, and Henry Cuff the secretary of the earl.

Those ambassadors from the king of Scots on whose co-operation Essex had placed his chief reliance, now arrived; and finding themselves too late for other purposes, they obeyed their master's instructions in such a case by offering to the queen his warmest congratulations on her escape from so foul and dangerous a conspiracy. They were further charged to make secret enquiry whether James's correspondence with Essex, and concurrence in the late conspiracy, had come to her knowledge; and whether any measures were likely to be taken in consequence for his exclusion from the succession. The confessions of Essex to the privy councillors had in fact rendered Elizabeth perfectly acquainted with the machinations of James; but, resolute to refrain during the remnant of her days from all angry discussions with the prince whom she saw destined to succeed her, she had caused the earl to be not only requested, but commanded, to forbear the repetition of this part of his acknowledgements on the scaffold. She was thus left free to receive, with all those demonstrations of amity which cost her nothing, the compliments of James; and to remain impenetrably ignorant of all that he desired her not to know. The Scottish emissaries had the further satisfaction of carrying back to their master assurances of the general consent of Englishmen in his favor; and

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in particular a pledge of the adherence of secretary Cecil; who immediately opened a private correspondence with the king, of which lord Henry Howard, formerly the conductor of that of Essex, became the willing medium.

There is good evidence that the peace of Elizabeth received an incurable wound by the loss of her unhappy favorite, which she daily found additional cause to regret on perceiving how completely it had delivered her over to the domination of his adversaries; but she still retained resolution sufficient to pursue with unabated vigor the great objects on which she was sensible that the mind of a sovereign ought to be with little remission employed. The memorable siege of Ostend, begun during this summer by the archduke Albert, fixed her attention and that of Europe. The defence was conducted by that able officer sir Francis Vere, at the head of a body of English auxiliaries whom the States had enlisted with the queen's permission, at their own expense. Henry IV., as if for the purpose of observing more nearly the event, had repaired to Calais. The queen of England, earnestly desirous of a personal interview, wrote him two letters on the subject; and Henry sent in return marshal Biron and two other ambassadors of rank, with a train of three or four hundred persons, whom the queen received with high honors, and caused to accompany her in her progress. During her visit of thirteen days to the marquis of Winchester at Basing, the French embassy was lodged at the house of lord Sandys; furnished for the occasion with plate and hangings

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from Hampton-court; the queen defraying all the charges, which were more than those of her own court at Basing. She made it her boast, that she had in this progress royally entertained a royal ambassador at her subjects' houses; which she said no other prince could do. The meeting of the two sovereigns, in hopes of which Elizabeth had actually gone to Dover, could not, for some unknown reason, be at last arranged; but Henry, at the particular instance of his friend and ally, sent over in disguise his favorite the marquis de Rosni, afterwards duke de Sully, to confer confidentially with her respecting an important political project which she had announced. This was no less than a plan for humbling the house of Austria, and for establishing a more perfect balance of power in Europe by uniting into one state the seventeen Flemish provinces. It was an idea, as Rosni declared to her, which had previously occurred to Henry himself; and the coincidence was flattering to both; but various obstacles were found likely to retard its execution till a period to which Elizabeth could scarcely look forward. One advantage, however, was gained to the queen of England by the interview; — the testimony of this celebrated statesman, recorded in his own Memoirs, to the solidity of her judgement and the enlargement of her views; and his distinct avowal that she was in all respects worthy of the high estimation which she had for more than forty years enjoyed, by common consent of all the politicians of Europe.

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Ireland was still a source to Elizabeth of anxiety and embarrassment. In order to sustain the expenses of the war, she suffered herself to be prevailed on to issue base money for the pay of the troops; — a mortifying circumstance, after the high credit which she had gained by the restoration of the coin to its original standard, which was one of the first acts of her reign. Montjoy, in the mean time, was struggling with vigor and progressive success against the disorders of the country. With the assistance of sir George Carew president of Munster, and other able commanders, he was gradually reducing the inferior rebels, and cutting off the supplies of Tyrone himself: but the courage of this insurgent was still supported by the hope of aids from Spain; and during this summer two bodies of Spanish troops, one of four thousand, the other of two thousand men, made good their landing. The larger number, under Aquila, took possession of Kinsale; the smaller, under Ocampo, was joined by Tyrone and other rebels with all their forces. The appearance of affairs was alarming; since the catholic Irish every where welcomed the Spaniards as deliverers and brethren: but Montjoy, after blockading Aquila in Kinsale, marched boldly to attack Ocampo and his Irish allies; gave them a complete defeat, in which the Spanish general was made prisoner, and Tyrone compelled to fly into Ulster; and afterwards returning to the siege of Kinsale, compelled Aquila to capitulate, on condition of a safe conveyance to their own country for himself and all the Spanish troops in the island.

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The state of the queen's mind while the fate of Ireland seemed to hang in the balance, and while the impression made by the attempt of Essex was still recent, is depicted in the following letter by sir John Harrington with his usual minuteness and vivacity: —

To Sir Hugh Portman, Knight. (Dated October 9th, 1601.)

". . . . .For six weeks I left my oxen and sheep and ventured to court. . . . . Much was my comfort in being well received, notwithstanding it is an ill hour for seeing the queen. The madcaps are all in riot; and much evil threatened. In good sooth I feared her majesty more than the rebel Tyrone; and wished I had never received my lord of Essex's honor of knighthood. She is quite disfavored* and unattired; and these troubles waste her much. She disregardeth every costly cover that cometh to the table; and taketh little but manchet and succory pottage. Every new message from the city doth disturb her, and she frowns on all the ladies. I had a sharp message from her brought by my lord Buckhurst, namely thus: 'Go tell that witty fellow my godson to get home; it is no season now to fool it here.' I liked this as little as she doth my knighthood; so took to my boots and returned to the plow in bad weather. I must not say much even by this trusty and sure messenger; but the many evil plots and designs hath overcome all her highness' sweet temper. She walks

* Changed in countenance.

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much in her privy chamber; and stamps with her feet at ill news; and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage. My lord Buckhurst is much with her, and few else since the city business: but the dangers are over, and yet she always keeps a sword by her table. I obtained a short audience at my first coming to court, when her highness told me, if ill counsel had brought me so far from home, she wished heaven might mar that fortune which she had mended. I made my peace in this point; and will not leave my poor castle of Kelston, for fear of finding a worse elsewhere, as others have done. I will eat Aldborne rabbits; and get fish as you recommend from the man at Curry-Rival; and get partridge and hares when I can; and my venison where I can; and leave all great matters to those that like them better than myself.... I could not move in any suit to serve your neighbour B., such was the face of things: and so disordered is all order that her highness hath worn but one change of raiment for many days; and swears much at those that cause her griefs in such wise, to the no small discomfiture of all about her, more especially our sweet lady Arundel, that *Venus plus quam venusta.*"[a]

In the month of October, 1601, the wants of her treasury compelled the queen to call a parliament. Her procession to the house had something gloomy and ominous; the people, still resenting the death of their favorite, whom they never could

[a] *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

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be taught to regard as a traitor to his sovereign, refused to gratify her ears as formerly with those affectionate acclamations on which this wise and gracious princess had ever placed so high a value. The house of commons, however, in consideration of her extraordinary expenses in the Irish wars, granted a supply large beyond example. Having thus deserved well of her majesty, they ventured to revive the topic of monopolies, the crying grievance of the age, against which the former parliament had petitioned her, but without effect. It was allowed, on both sides, that the granting of exclusive privileges to trade in certain articles, was a prerogative inherent in the crown; and though the practice so lavishly adopted by Elizabeth of providing in this manner for her courtiers without expense to herself had rendered the evil almost intolerable, the ministerial members dared to insist that no right existed in the house to frame a bill for its redress. It was maintained by them, that the dispensing power possessed by the queen would enable her to set at nought any statute which could be made in this matter; — in short, that she was an absolute prince; and consequently that petitioning, of which the last parliament had proved the inefficacy, was the only course of proceeding open to them. Other members, who better understood or more revered the constitutional liberties of their country, supported the bill which had been offered to the house: the event was, that in the midst of the debate, the queen sent for the speaker, to inform him, that she would voluntarily

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cancel some of the patents which had excited most discontent.

This concession to a just demand, though extorted by necessity, was yet made with so good a grace, that her faithful commons were filled with admiration and gratitude. One member pronounced the message "a gospel of glad tidings;" others employed phrases of adulation equally extravagant; — a committee was appointed to return their acknowledgements to her majesty, who kneeled for some time at her feet, while the speaker enlarged upon her "preventing grace and all-deserving goodness." She graciously gave thanks to the commons for pointing out to her abuses which might otherwise have escaped her notice; since the truth, as she observed, was too often disguised from princes by the persons about them, through motives of private interest: and thus, with the customary assurances of her loving care over her loyal subjects, she skilfully accomplished her retreat from a contest in which she judged perseverance to be dangerous, and final success at best uncertain. In her farewell speech, however, at the close of the session, she could not refrain from observing, in reference to this matter, that she perceived private respects to be masked with them under public pretences. Such was the final parting between Elizabeth and her last parliament!

The year 1602 was not fertile of domestic incident. One of the most remarkable circumstances was a violent quarrel between the Jesuits and the secular catholic priests in England. The secular priests accused the Jesuits, and not without reason,

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of having been the occasion, by their assassination-plots against the queen, and conspiracies against the government, of all the severe enactments under which the English catholics had groaned since the fulmination of the papal bull against her majesty. In the height of this ill-advised dispute, intelligence was conveyed to the council of some fresh plots on the part of the Jesuits and their adherents; on which a proclamation was immediately issued, banishing this order the kingdom on pain of death; and the same penalty was declared against all secular priests who should refuse to take the oath of allegiance.

The queen continued to pursue from habit, and probably from policy also, amusements for which all her relish was lost. She went a-maying to Mr. Buckley's at Lewisham; and paid several visits in the course of the year; — but her efforts were unavailing; the irrevocable past still hung upon her spirits. About the beginning of June, in a conversation with M. de Beaumont the French ambassador, she owned herself weary of life; then sighing, whilst her eyes filled with tears, she adverted to the death of Essex; and mentioned, that being apprehensive, from his ambition and the impetuosity of his temper, of his throwing himself into some rash design which would prove his ruin, she had repeatedly counselled him, during the two last years, to content himself with pleasing her, and forbear to treat her with the insolent contempt which he had lately assumed; above all, not to touch her sceptre, lest she should be compelled to punish him by the laws of England, and not ac-

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cording to her own laws; which he had found too mild and favorable to give him any cause of fear: but that her salutary and affectionate advice had proved ineffectual to prevent his ruin.

A letter from sir John Harrington to his lady, dated December 27th, 1602, gives the following melancholy picture of the state of his sovereign and benefactress.

"Sweet Mall;

"I herewith send thee what I would God none did know, some ill-bodings of the realm and its welfare. Our dear queen, my royal godmother and this state's natural mother, doth now bear some show of human infirmity; too fast, for that evil which we shall get by her death; and too slow, for that good which she shall get by her release-ment from pains and misery. Dear Mall, how shall I speak what I have seen or what I have felt? thy good silence in these matters emboldens my pen. For thanks to the sweet god of silence, thy lips do not wanton out of discretion's path like the many gossiping dames we could name, who lose their husbands' fast hold in good friends rather than hold fast their own tongues. Now I will trust thee with great assurance; and whilst thou dost brood over thy young ones in the chamber, thou shalt read the doings of thy grieving mate in the court. I find some less mindful of what they are soon to lose, than of what they may perchance hereafter get: Now, on my own part, I cannot blot from my memory's table the goodness of our sovereign lady to me, even, I will say,

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before born. Her affection to my mother, who waited in privy chamber, her bettering the state of my father's fortune, (which I have, alas, so much worsted,) her watchings over my youth, her liking to my free speech and admiration of my little learning and poesy, which I did so much cultivate on her command, have rooted such love, such dutiful remembrance of her princely virtues, that to turn askant from her condition with tearless eyes, would stain and foul the spring and fount of gratitude. It was not many days since I was bidden to her presence; I blessed the happy moment, and found her in most pitiable state; she bade the archbishop ask me if I had seen Tyrone. I replied with reverence, that I had seen him with the lord-deputy; she looked up with much choler and grief in her countenance, and said: O! now it mindeth me that you was *one* who saw this man *elsewhere*[a], and hereat she dropped a tear and smote her bosom; she held in her hand a golden cup, which she often put to her lips; but in truth her heart seemeth too full to need more filling. This sight moved me to think of what passed in Ireland; and I trust she did not less think on *some* who were busier there than myself. She gave me a message to the lord-deputy, and bade me come to the chamber at seven o'clock. Hereat some who were about her did marvel, as I do not hold so high place as those she did not choose to do her commands..... Her

[a] Harrington had been at a conference between him and Essex; for which he had been severely rated by the queen.

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majesty enquired of some matters which I had written; and as she was pleased to note my fanciful brain, I was not unheedful to feed her humour; and read some verses, whereat she smiled once; and was pleased to say: 'When thou dost feel creeping time at thy gate, these fooleries will please thee less; I am past my relish for such matters; thou seest my bodily meat doth not suit me well; I have eaten but one ill-tasted cake since yesternight.' She rated most grievously at noon at some one who minded not to bring up certain matters of account: several men have been sent to, and when ready at hand, her highness hath dismissed in anger; but who, dearest Mall, shall say that 'your highness hath forgotten?'"[a]

During the campaign of 1602, lord Montjoy had been occupied in Ireland in reducing the inferior rebels to submission; in building forts and planting garrisons; at the same time wasting the country in every direction, for the purpose of straitening the quarters of Tyrone and cutting off his supplies. At length, having collected all his forces, he purposed to hazard an attack on the chieftain himself in the midst of the desert-fastnesses to which he had driven him; but the difficulties which he experienced from the impassable state of the roads, the treachery of scouts and the inclemency of the season, compelled him to defer this undertaking till the return of spring. Meantime, such was the extremity of

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[a] *Nugæ Antiquæ.*

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distress to which Tyrone had been reduced, that numbers of his people had perished by hunger; and perceiving the remnant fast diminishing by daily desertion, he renewed the offer of surrender on certain conditions which he had propounded some months before. At that time, Cecil had once prevailed upon her majesty, for the sake of avoiding the intolerable expense of a further prosecution of the Irish war, to sign the rebel's pardon; — but she had immediately retracted the concession; and all that he was able finally to gain of her, by the intercession of the French ambassador, was a promise, that if Tyrone were not taken by the lord-deputy before winter, she would consent to pardon him. About Christmas her council urged upon her the fulfilment of this engagement; but she replied, with warmth, that she would not begin at her age to treat with her subjects, nor leave such an ill example after her decease.[a]

The importunities of her ministers, however, among whom Tyrone is said to have made himself friends, finally overpowered the reluctance of the queen: and she authorised the deputy to grant the rebel his life, with some part of the terms which he asked; but so extreme was her mortification in making this concession, that many have regarded it as the origin of that deep melancholy to which she soon after fell a victim. The council apprehended, or affected to apprehend, that Tyrone would refuse to surrender on the hard conditions imposed by the queen; but so desperate was now his situ-

[a] *Carte.*

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ation, that without even waiting to receive them, he had thrown himself at the feet of the deputy, and submitted his lands and life to the queen's mercy. Ministers more resolute, or more disinterested, might therefore have spared her the degradation, as she regarded it, of treating with a rebel. The news of his final submission, which occurred four days only before her death, she never learned.

The closing scene of the long and eventful life of queen Elizabeth is all that now remains to be described; but that marked peculiarity of character and of destiny which has attended her from the cradle pursues her to the grave, and forbids us to hurry over as trivial and uninteresting the melancholy detail.

Notwithstanding the state of bodily and mental indisposition in which she was beheld by Harrington at the close of the year 1602, the queen had persisted in taking her usual exercises of riding and hunting, regardless of the inclemencies of the season. One day in January she visited the lord-admiral, probably at Chelsea; and about the same time she removed to her palace of Richmond.

In the beginning of March her illness suddenly increased; and it was about this time that her kinsman Robert Cary arrived from Berwick to visit her. In his own Memoirs he has thus related the circumstances which he witnessed on this occasion: —

"When I came to court I found the queen ill disposed; and she kept her inner lodging; yet she, hearing of my arrival, sent for me. I found her in

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one of her withdrawing chambers, sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her; I kissed her hand, and told her it was my chiefest happiness to see her in safety and in health, which I wished might long continue. She took me by the hand, and wrung it hard; and said, 'No, Robin, I am not well;' and then discoursed with me of her indisposition; and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days; and in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs. I was grieved at the first to see her in this plight; for in all my lifetime I never knew her fetch a sigh, but when the queen of Scots was beheaded. Then, upon my knowledge, she shed many tears and sighs, manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that queen.

"I used the best words I could to persuade her from this melancholy humour; but I found by her it was too deep rooted in her heart and hardly to be removed. This was upon a Saturday night, and she gave command that the great closet should be prepared for her to go to chapel the next morning. The next day, all things being in a readiness, we long expected her coming. After eleven o'clock, one of the grooms came out and bade make ready for the private closet, she would not go to the great. There we stayed long for her coming, but at last she had cushions laid for her in her privy chamber hard by the closet door; and there she heard service.

"From that day forward she grew worse and worse. She remained upon her cushions four days

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and nights at the least. All about her could not persuade her either to take any sustenance or go to bed. . . . . The queen grew worse and worse because she would be so, none about her being able to go to bed. My lord-admiral was sent for, (who by reason of my sister's death, that was his wife, had absented himself some fortnight from court;) what by fair means what by force he gat her to bed. There was no hope of her recovery, because she refused all remedies.

"On Wednesday the 23d of March she grew speechless. That afternoon by signs she called for her counsel; and by putting her hand to her head when the king of Scots was named to succeed her, they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her.

"About six at night she made signs for the archbishop and her chaplains to come to her; at which time I went in with them, and sat upon my knees full of tears to see that heavy sight. Her majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed and the other without. The bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of her faith; and she so punctually answered all his several questions, by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all beholders. . . . After he had continued long in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, he blessed her; and meant to rise and leave her. The queen made a sign with her hand. My sister Scrope, knowing her meaning, told the bishop the queen desired he would pray still. He did so for a long half hour after, and then thought to leave her. The second time she made sign to

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have him continue in prayer. He did so for half an hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, as the queen to all our sight much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one departed, all but her women that attended her.... Between one and two o'clock of the Thursday morning, he that I left in the cofferer's chamber brought me word that the queen was dead."

A Latin letter written the day after her death to Edmund Lambert, whether by one of her physicians or not is uncertain, gives an account of her sickness in no respect contradictory to Robert Cary's, which may be thus rendered:

"It was after laboring for nearly three weeks under a morbid melancholy, which brought on stupor not unmixed with some indications of a disordered fancy, that the queen expired. During all this time she could neither by reasoning, entreaties, or artifices be brought to make trial of any medical aid; and with difficulty was persuaded to receive sufficient nourishment to sustain nature; taking also very little sleep; and that not in bed, but on cushions, where she would sit whole days motionless and sleepless; retaining however the vigor of her intellect to her last breath, though deprived for three days before her death of the power of speech."

Another contemporary writes to his friend thus: .... "No doubt you shall hear her majesty's sickness and manner of death diversely reported;

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for even here the papists do tell strange stories, as utterly void of truth as of all civil honesty or humanity.... Here was some whispering that her brain was somewhat distempered, but there was no such matter; only she held an obstinate silence for the most part; and, because she had a persuasion that if she once lay down she should never rise, could not be got to go to bed in a whole week, till three days before her death .... She made no will, neither gave any thing away; so that they which come after shall find a well-furnished jewel-house and a rich wardrobe of more than two thousand gowns, with all things else answerable."[a]

That a profound melancholy was either the cause, or at least a leading symptom, of the last illness of the queen, so many concurring testimonies render indisputable; but the origin of this affection has been variously explained. Some, as we have seen, ascribed it to her chagrin on being in a manner compelled to grant the pardon of Tyrone; — a cause disproportioned apparently to the effect. Others have imagined it to arise from grief and indignation at the neglect which she began to experience from the venal throng of courtiers, who were hastening to pay timely homage to her successor. By others, again, her dejection has been regarded as nothing more than a natural concomitant of bodily decay; a physical rather than a mental malady. But the prevalent opinion, even at the time, appears to have been, that the grief, or compunction, for the death of

[a] *Nichols's Progresses.*

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Essex, with which she had long maintained a secret struggle, broke forth in the end superior to control; and rapidly completed the overthrow of powers which the advances of old age and an accumulation of cares and anxieties had already undermined. "Our queen," writes an English correspondent to a Scotch nobleman in the service of James, "is troubled with a rheum in her arm, which vexeth her very much, besides the grief she hath conceived for my lord of Essex's death. She sleepeth not so much by day as she used, neither taketh rest by night. Her delight is to sit in the dark, and sometimes, with shedding tears, to bewail Essex."

A remarkable anecdote first published in Osborn's Traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by M. Maurier's Memoirs; where it is given on the authority of sir Dudley Carleton the English ambassador in Holland, who related it to prince Maurice; — offers the solution of these doubts. According to this story, the countess of Nottingham, who was a relation, but no friend, of the earl of Essex, being on her death-bed, entreated to see the queen; declaring that she had something to confess to her before she could die in peace. On her majesty's arrival, the countess produced a ring, which she said the earl of Essex had sent to her after his condemnation, with an earnest request that she would deliver it to the queen, as the token by which he implored her mercy; but that in obedience to her husband, to whom she had communicated the circumstance, she had hitherto withheld it; for which she en-

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treated the queen's forgiveness. On sight of the ring, Elizabeth instantly recognised it as one which she had herself presented to her unhappy favorite on his departure for Cadiz, with the tender promise, that of whatsoever crimes his enemies might have accused him, or whatsoever offences he might actually have committed against her, on his returning to her that pledge, she would either pardon him, or admit him at least to justify himself in her presence. Transported at once with grief and rage, on learning the barbarous treachery of which the earl had been the victim and herself the dupe, the queen shook the dying countess in her bed; and vehemently exclaiming, — that God might forgive her, but she never could; — flung out of the chamber.

Returning to her palace, she surrendered herself without resistance to the despair which had seized her heart on this fatal and too late disclosure. — Hence her refusal of medicine and almost of food; — hence her obstinate silence interrupted only by sighs, groans, and broken hints of a deep sorrow which she cared not to reveal; — hence the days and nights passed by her seated on the floor, sleepless, her eyes fixed and her finger pressed upon her mouth; — hence, in short, all those heart-rending symptoms of incurable and mortal anguish which conducted her, in the space of twenty days, to the lamentable termination of a long life of power, prosperity, and glory. [a]

[a] See the evidence for this extraordinary story fully stated in Birch's Negotiations. On the whole, it appears sufficient to warrant our belief; yet it

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The queen expired on March 24th, 1603.

After the minute and extended survey of the life and actions of Elizabeth which has formed the principal business of these pages, it would be a trespass alike on the patience and the judgement of the reader to detain him with a formal review of her character; — let it suffice to complete the portrait by a few additional touches.

The ceremonial of her court rivalled the servility of the East: no person of whatever rank ventured to address her otherwise than kneeling; and this attitude was preserved by all her ministers during their audiences of business, with the exception of Burleigh, in whose favor, when aged and infirm, she dispensed with its observance. Hentzner, a German traveller who visited England near the conclusion of her reign, relates, that as she passed through several apartments from the chapel to dinner, wherever she turned her eyes he observed the spectators throw themselves on their knees. The same traveller further relates, that the officers and ladies whose business it was to arrange the dishes and give tastes of them to the yeomen of the guard by whom they were brought in, did not presume to approach the royal table without repeated prostrations and genuflections, and every mark of reverence due to her majesty in person.

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should be remarked that the accounts which have come down to us differ from each other in some important points, and are traceable to no original witness of the interview between the queen and the countess.

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The appropriation of her time and the arrangements of her domestic life present several favorable and pleasing traits.

"First in the morning she spent some time at her devotions; then she betook herself to the dispatch of her civil affairs, reading letters, ordering answers, considering what should be brought before the council, and consulting with her ministers. When she had thus wearied herself, she would walk in a shady garden or pleasant gallery, without any other attendance than that of a few learned men. Then she took her coach, and passed in the sight of her people to the neighbouring groves and fields; and sometimes would hunt or hawk. There was scarce a day but she employed some part of it in reading and study; sometimes before she entered upon her state-affairs, sometimes after them."[a]

She slept little, seldom drank wine, was sparing in her diet, and a religious observer of the fasts. She sometimes dined alone, but more commonly had with her some of her friends. "At supper she would divert herself with her friends and attendants; and if they made her no answer would put them upon mirth and pleasant discourse with great civility. She would then also admit Tarleton, a famous comedian and pleasant talker; and other such men, to divert her with stories of the town and the common jests and accidents."

"She would recreate herself with a game of chess, dancing or singing.... She would often play

[a] *Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth.*

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at cards and tables; and if at any time she happened to win, she would be sure to demand the money.... She was waited on in her bedchamber by married ladies of the nobility; the marchioness of Winchester widow, lady Warwick, and lady Scrope; and here she would seldom suffer any to wait upon her but Leicester, Hatton, Essex, Nottingham, and Raleigh .... Some lady always slept in her chamber; and besides her guards, there was always a gentleman of good quality and some others up in the next chamber, to wake her if any thing extraordinary happened."[a]

"She loved a prudent and moderate habit in her private apartment and conversation with her own servants; but when she appeared in public she was ever richly adorned with the most valuable clothes, set off again with much gold and jewels of inestimable value; and on such occasions she ever wore high shoes, that she might seem taller than indeed she was. The first day of the parliament she would appear in a robe embroidered with pearls; the royal crown on her head, the golden ball in her left hand, and the sceptre in her right; and as she never failed then of the loud acclamations of her people, so she was ever pleased with it, and went along in a kind of triumph with all the ensigns of majesty. The royal name was ever venerable to the English people; but this queen's name was more sacred than any of her ancestors. .....In the furniture of her palaces she ever affected magnificence and an extraordinary splen-

[a] *Ibid.*

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dor. She adorned the galleries with pictures by the best artists; the walls she covered with rich tapestries. She was a true lover of jewels, pearls, all sorts of precious stones, gold and silver plate, rich beds, fine couches and chariots, Persian and Indian carpets, statues, medals, &c. which she would purchase at great prices. Hampton-court was the most richly furnished of all her palaces; and here she had caused her naval victories against the Spaniards to be worked in fine tapestries and laid up among the richest pieces of her wardrobe. .... When she made any public feasts, her tables were magnificently served, and many side-tables adorned with rich plate. At these times many of the nobility waited on her at table. She made the greatest displays of her regal magnificence when foreign ambassadors were present. At these times she would also have vocal and instrumental music during dinner; and after dinner, dancing."[a]

The queen was for the most part laudably watchful over the morals of her court; and not content with dismissing from her service, or banishing her presence, such of her female attendants as were found offending against the laws of chastity, she was equitable enough to visit with marks of her displeasure the libertinism of the other sex; and in several instances she deferred the promotion of otherwise deserving young men till she saw them reform their manners in this respect. Europe had assuredly never beheld a court so decent,

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[a] *Ibid.*

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so learned, or so accomplished as hers; and it will not be foreign from the purpose of illustrating the character of the sovereign, to borrow from a contemporary writer a few particulars on this head.

It was rare to find a courtier acquainted with no language but his own. The ladies studied Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian, and French. The "more ancient" among them exercised themselves, some with the needle, some with "*caul-work*," (probably netting); "divers in spinning silk; some in continual reading either of the Scriptures or of histories either of their own or foreign countries; divers in writing volumes of their own, or translating the works of others into Latin or English; while the younger ones applied to their "lutes, citharnes, pricksong, and all kinds of music." Many of the elder sort were also "skilful in surgery and distillation of waters; beside sundry artificial practices pertaining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies." — "This," adds our author, "I will generally say of them all; that as each of them are cunning in something whereby they keep themselves occupied in the court, there is in manner none of them but when they be at home can help to supply the ordinary want of the kitchen with a number of delicate dishes of their own devising, wherein the *portingal*[a] is their chief counsellor; some of them are most commonly with the clerk of the kitchen."

Every office at court had "either a Bible or the book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church

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[a] The *Portuguese*; long skilful in the art of confectionary.

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of England, or both, besides some histories and chronicles, lying therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same." [a]

Such was the scene over which Elizabeth presided; — such the companions whom she formed to herself, and in whom she delighted! The new men and new manners brought in by James I. served to teach the nation more highly to appreciate all that it had enjoyed under his illustrious predecessor; — the vigor which had rendered her government respectable abroad, and the wise and virtuous moderation which caused it to be loved at home, were now recalled with that sense of irreparable loss which exalts to enthusiasm the sentiment of veneration and the principle of gratitude; and almost in the same proportion as the sanguinary bigotry of her predecessor had occasioned her accession to be desired, the despicable weakness of her successor caused her decease to be regretted and deplored.

It was on the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of king James that the eloquent Hall, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, gave utterance to the general sentiment in the following animated apostrophe to the manes of the departed sovereign:

"O blessed queen! the mother of this nation, the nurse of this church, the glory of womanhood, the envy and example of foreign nations, the wonder of times; how sweet and sacred shall thy memory be to all posterity! — How excellent were her masculine graces of learning, valor and wisdom,

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[a] *Description of England prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles.*

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by which she might justly challenge to be the queen of men! So learned was she, that she could give present answer to ambassadors in their own tongues; so valiant, that like Zisca's drum made the proudest Romanist to quake; so wise, that whatsoever fell out happily against the common adversary in France, Netherland, Ireland, it was by themselves ascribed to her policy.

"Why should I speak of her long and successful government; of her miraculous preservations; of her famous victories; wherein the waters, wind, fire and earth fought for us, as if they had been in pay under her; of her excellent laws and careful execution? Many daughters have done worthily, but thou surmountedst them all. Such was the sweetness of her government and such the fear of misery in her loss, that many worthy Christians desired that their eyes might be closed before hers. . . . . Every one pointed to her white hairs, and said, with that peaceable Leontius; 'When this snow melteth there will be a flood.'"

In the progress of the preceding work, some incidental notices are inserted respecting the domestic architecture of the reign of Elizabeth; but the author becoming gradually sensible of the interesting details of which the subject was susceptible, and entirely aware of her own inability to do it justice, solicited, and esteemed herself fortunate in obtaining the following additional remarks from the pen of a brother, who made this noble art his profession.

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ON THE

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

OF

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

During the period of English history included in our present survey, the nobility continued for the most part to inhabit their ancient castles; edifices which, originally adapted by strength of situation and construction merely to defence, were now in many instances, by the alteration of the original buildings and by the accession of additional ones, become splendid palaces. Among these it may be sufficient to mention Kennelworth, renowned for gorgeous festivities, where the earl of Leicester was reported to have expended 60,000 pounds in buildings.

Some curious notices of the habitations of the time are preserved in Leland's Itinerary, written about 1535, as in the following description of Wresehill-castle near Howden in Yorkshire: — 'Most part of the base court is of timber. The castle is moted about on three parts; the fourth part is dry, where the entry is into the castle. Five towers, one at each corner: the gateway is the fifth, having five lodgings in height; three of the other towers have four lodgings in height; the fourth containeth the buttery, pantry, pastry, lardery, and kitchen. In one of the towers a study called Paradise, where was a closet in the middle of eight squares latticed; about and at the top of every square was a desk lodged to set books on, &c. The garde robe in the castle was exceeding fair; and so were the gardens within the mote and the orchards without; and in the orchards were mounts *opere topiario* writhen about with degreeslike turnings of a cockle-shell, to come to top without pain.'

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These castles, though converted into dwellings of some convenience and magnificence, still retained formidable strength, which was proved in the following century, when so many of them sustained sieges for the king or parliament and were finally dilapidated.

Besides the regularly fortified castles, there were many mansion-houses of inferior importance, which, though not capable of resisting a regular siege, were strengthened against a tumultuous or hasty invasion. These houses generally formed a square of building enclosing a court and surrounded by a moat. A drawbridge formed the only access, which was protected by an embattled gate-house. One side of the square was principally occupied by a great hall; and the offices and lodgings were distributed on the other sides. Oxburgh-hall in Norfolk, and Layer Marney in Essex, are fine examples of these houses. They were frequently of timber, as Moreton-hall in Cheshire, Speke-hall near Liverpool. Leland describes Morley-house near Manchester as 'builded, — saving the foundation of stone squared that riseth within a great mote a 6 foot above the water; — all of timber: after the common sort of building of the gentlemen for most of Lancashire.' Sometimes a strong tower was added at one corner as a citadel, which might be maintained when the rest of the house was destroyed. This is the case with the curious house of Stoke Say in Shropshire, where the situation near the Welsh border might render such an additional security desirable.

Thus the forms of ancient fortification were continued awhile rather from habit or ostentation than from any more important motives; but in the new buildings erected during the reign of Elizabeth and her successor they were finally laid aside. In some stately houses, though the show of strength was discontinued, the general form remained however the same. The circuit of building was entire, and enclosed one or more courts; a gateway formed the entrance, and the great hall was placed at the opposite side of the first

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court. Such was Audley End, in its original state one of the largest and most sumptuous houses in the kingdom. In other instances the house assumes the half H shape, with the offices placed in the wings; and the circuit is only completed by terraces and low walls; the gatehouse remains as a detached lodge, or is entirely omitted: examples of this form are numerous; as Holland-house at Kensington, Oxnead and Blickling halls in Norfolk, Beaudesert and Wimbledon-house, built by sir Thomas Cecil in 1588; remarkable for a great ascent of steps and terraces disposed in a manner resembling some Italian villas. In others the offices are detached in separate masses, or concealed, or placed in a basement story; and only the body of the house remains, either as a solid mass or enclosing small courts: this disposition does not differ from the most modern arrangements. Of these houses, Longleat in Wiltshire, and Wollaton near Nottingham are fine examples. [a]

The distribution of domestic buildings is well illustrated in the Survey of Theobald's taken by the Parliament's Commissioners in 1650. This mansion was built by lord Burleigh about 1560: it afterwards became a favorite residence of James I. who received it from lord Salisbury in exchange for the manor and palace of Hatfield. The Survey contains a very minute and accurate description of Theobald's palace, from which the following account is given partly in the words of the old surveyors. — It consisted of two principal quadrangles; besides the dial court, the buttery court and the dove-house court, in which the offices were situated. The fountain court was a square of 86 feet, on the east side of which was a cloister of seven arches. On the ground floor of this quadrangle was a spacious hall; the roof of which was arched with carved timber of curious workmanship. On the same floor were the lord Holland's, the marquis of Hamilton's, and lord

[a] Views of most of the buildings here mentioned may be found in Britton's Architectural Antiquities, vols. i. ii. and iv.

[b] Lysons's Environs of London, vol. iv.

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Salisbury's apartments; the council-chamber and waiting room. On the second floor was the presence-chamber, finished with carved oak wainscoting and a ceiling full of gilded pendants. Also the privy chamber, the withdrawing room, the king's bedchamber and a gallery 123 feet long: 'wainscoted with oak; and paintings over the same of divers cities, rarely painted and set forth; with a fret ceiling, with divers pendants, roses, and flower-de-luces; also divers large stags' heads, which were an excellent ornament to the same.' On the upper floor were the lord-chamberlain's lodgings and several other apartments, with terrace-walks on the leads. At each corner stood a high and fair tower, and over the hall in the middle 'a large and fair turret in the fashion of a lantern, curiously wrought with divers pinnacles at each corner, wherein hangeth 12 bells for chiming and a clock with chimes and sundry work.' The middle court was a quadrangle of 110 feet square, on the south side of which were the queen's chapel, presence-chamber, and other apartments. The prince's lodgings were on the north side; on the east side was a cloister, over which was the green gallery, 109 feet by 12 feet, 'excellently well painted with the several shires in England and the arms of the noblemen and gentlemen in the same.' Over the gallery was a leaded walk, on which were two lofty arches of brick, 'of no small ornament to the house, and rendering it comely and pleasant to all that passed by.' On the west side of the quadrangle was another cloister on five arches; over which were the duke's lodgings, and over them the queen's gallery. On the south side of the house stood a large open cloister, built upon several large fair pillars, arched over 'with a fair rail and ballustres: well painted with the kings and queens of England, and the pedigree of the old lord Burleigh, and divers other ancient families; with paintings of many castles and battles.' The gardens at Theobald's were large; and ornamented with labyrinths, canals, and fountains. The great garden contained seven acres; besides which there

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were the pheasant garden, privy garden, and laundry garden. In the former were nine knots artificially and exquisitely made, one of which was set forth in likeness of the king's arms. This description, and Bacon's idea of a palace in his 45th Essay, with their numerous cloisters, galleries and turrets, are well illustrated by the plan of Audley End in its original state, given in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, vol. ii. It is such a mansion also that is described in the following lines of a contemporary poet:

> "High lifted up were many lofty towers,
> And goodly galleries far overlaid,
> Full of fair windows and delightful bowers;
> And on the top a dial told the timely hours."
>
> *Faery Queen*, B. I. Canto IV.

The houses erected during the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, were frequently of magnificent dimensions; picturesque from the varied lines and projections of the plan and elevation; and rich by the multiplicity of parts; but they had lost all beauty of detail. The builders, having abandoned the familiar and long practised Gothic style, were now to serve their apprenticeship in Grecian architecture: 'stately Doricke and neat Ionicke work' were introduced as fashionable novelties; employed first in the porches and frontispieces, and gradually extended over the whole fronts of buildings. Among the architects employed at this period some foreign names occur. Holbein was much favored by Henry VIII., and gave various designs for buildings at the old palaces of Whitehall and St. James's. John of Padua had a salary as deviser of his majesty's buildings; and was employed to build the palace of the protector Somerset. Jerome de Trevisi is also mentioned; and it is said that the designs for Longleat and a model of Audley End, were obtained from Italy. The last circumstance is altogether extraordinary; this was the very best period of Italian architecture; and it seems highly improbable that semi-barbarous designs

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should proceed from the country of Palladio and Vignola. Thorpe, Smithson, and other Englishmen, were also eminent builders; and probably these persons might have travelled; and thus have gained the imperfect knowledge of Grecian architecture which appears in their works. They were immediately followed by Inigo Jones, who formed his style particularly on the works of Palladio, and became the founder of classic architecture in this country.

There is a remarkable and beautiful analogy between the progress of Grecian and Gothic architecture; in both of which we find, that while the powers of decoration were extended, the process of construction was improved and simplified. Thus the Doric, the primitive order, is full of difficulties in its arrangement, which render it only applicable to simple plans and to buildings where the internal distribution is of inferior consequence. The Ionic, though more ornamental, is by the suppression of the divisions in the frieze so simplified as to be readily applicable to more complicated arrangements: still the capital presents difficulties from the dissimilarity of the front and sides; which objection is finally obviated by the introduction of that rich and exquisite composition, the Corinthian capital. Thus is obtained an order of the most elegant and ornamented character, but possessing a happy simplicity and regularity of composition which render it more easy of application than any other. In like manner in the later, which has been called the florid style of Gothic architecture, there are buildings astonishingly rich and elaborate; but we find this excess of ornament supported and rendered practicable by a principle of simplicity in design and construction. In the earlier and middle styles of Gothic there are various difficulties of execution, and some faults of composition: such as the slender detached shafts, the richly-carved capitals, the flowing and varied tracery of windows; and that profuse variety in detail which frequently causes all the windows, capitals, buttresses and pinnacles of the same buildings to differ from one another. But the later style

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has more uniformity in corresponding parts; the capitals are very generally composed of plain mouldings; and the divisions of the windows consist chiefly of horizontal and perpendicular lines, with few of the beautiful and difficult combinations of curves which are found in the preceding style. The general principle of decoration is to leave no plain surface, but to divide the whole into a series of pannelling; by which is produced an extraordinary richness of effect, though the parts, when examined separately, are generally of simple forms, and such as will admit of an easy and mechanical execution. The introduction of the four-centred arch enlarged the powers of design; enabled architects in many instances to proportion better the vault to the upright; and even to introduce vaults where they would have been inapplicable in the former style, on account of the want of elevation in rooms; as in the divinity school at Oxford. Without concurring in the ignorant wonder which has raised the vaulted ceilings of this style to the rank of mysteries, we may admire the ingenuity which has rendered real simplicity of construction the foundation of beautiful forms and of the most elaborate decoration. The most celebrated examples of this style are so highly finished, so exuberant in ornament, that the term *florid* has been applied as a characteristic epithet for the style; but there are many instances of very simple and unornamented buildings of the same period agreeing in all the essential principles of construction and design; and a late writer has with more propriety adopted the term *perpendicular* for this mode of architecture. This later Gothic, easy of construction and possessing a variety of character applicable to every kind of building, is well adapted for modern imitation.

But the power of mutability was at work; and Gothic architecture was doomed to fall. The first step towards its decline was pursuing to excess the principle of simplification and retrenching the most essential ornaments. The large windows of houses were merely divided by horizontal

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and upright bars: and, deprived of tracery and feathering, were as void of beauty in the details as in the general proportions; buttresses and battlements were generally omitted. A great deterioration took place in the decorative part; the ornamental pannels and friezes of the Gothic style, consisting of geometrical combinations of circles and straight lines, had always a distinct outline and a sharpness of effect which contrasted agreeably with the foliage so often intermixed; but these were succeeded by strange grotesque combinations; confused, and void of outline and regularity. The source of ornament was now sought in the orders and members of Grecian architecture; but the eyes which had been accustomed to the Gothic flutter of parts, were not prepared to relish the simplicity of line which is essential to the beauty of the Greek style. Columns of a small size, inaccurately and coarsely executed, with arcades and grotesque caryatids, formed the ornaments of porches and frontispieces, — as at Browseholme-house in Yorkshire; Wimbledon; and the Schools-tower at Oxford, — or were spread over the whole front and formed the cloisters and galleries in which those ancient mansions abounded; as at Holland-house, Longleat, Wollaton, Audley End, Longford-castle, &c. The roofs were either faced with notched and curved gables, or screened by parapets of balusters or latticed work; and decorated with obelisks and columnar chimney shafts: while turrets and pavilions broke the line of elevation. The windows were very large and frequently bowed: thus Bacon remarks, in the Essay before referred to, that 'you shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold.' In wooden houses, and particularly town houses, the upper stories generally projected beyond the lower, with windows extremely wide, so as to occupy almost the whole line of front. The timbers were frequently left bare, carved and disposed in forms of pannelling; while the various projections were supported by grotesque figures. Very curious

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houses of this character are still found in several old towns, as Chester, Shrewsbury, Coventry and the obscure parts of London; though natural decay, fire, and modern improvements, are continually diminishing their number. Among interior decorations, chimney-pieces were very conspicuous: they were miniature frontispieces, consisting, like the porches of the houses, of a mass of columns, arches, niches, and caryatids, piled up to the ceiling. Of these there is one at the old Tabley-hall in Cheshire, singularly rude and grotesque; though dated so late as 1619; containing a hunting-piece and the figures of Lucrece and Cleopatra. Another in queen Elizabeth's gallery at Windsor Castle is very rich; and comparatively pure and elegant in design. The sepulchral monuments of this age are very numerous, but only differ from those of an earlier date in the substitution of the members of Grecian for those of Gothic architecture, or rather in the confused mixture of both.

The unformed style of this period is well charactered in the following lines of Spenser, describing the access to the island containing the temple of Venus.

> "It was a bridge ybuilt in goodly wise,
> With curious corbs and pendants graven fair;
> And arched all with porches did arise
> On stately pillars framed after the Doric guise."
>
> *Faery Queen*, B. IV. Canto X.

On the whole, this, though a glorious period for literature, was lost for the fine arts. The incongruous mixture of the conflicting principles of Grecian and Gothic architecture produced buildings more truly barbarous, more disgusting to a cultivated taste, than the rudest Norman work. Together with the architectural orders, our artists had received models and authorities for the grotesque style; which they were but too ready to follow. This extraordinary style of ornament had prevailed in ancient Rome early

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enough to be reprobated in the work of Vitruvius; and lay unobserved among obscure and subterraneous ruins till the discovery of the baths of Titus opened a rich magazine of gay and capricious ornament. Raffaelle, struck with these remains of the antique art of painting, adopted the same style of ornament in the galleries of the Vatican; enriching and enlivening it with the stores of allegory and mythology furnished by his poetical fancy. The example of such a man could not want imitators; it influenced the whole architecture of France; — which very early possessed artists of great merit; — and appeared in this country with very inferior effect. It may well be imagined that this style, naturally licentious, and only rendered tolerable by grace of composition and brilliancy of execution, would become utterly contemptible when presenting only coarsely executed and unmeaning extravagances.

Such was the general character of art. We may however make discriminations, and admit comparative merit. Wimbledon-house, seated on the side of a hill, was remarkable for a magnificent disposition of steps and terraces worthy an Italian villa. Wollaton-hall is admired by Mr. Price for the grandeur of its masses. Charlton-house has a very picturesque arrangement of heights in the elevation; Longleat, on the other hand, has much simplicity of form. In its square projections and three orders of columns or pilasters, it bears no remote resemblance to the ancient part of the Louvre built about thirty years previously; though without the purity and delicacy of the details of the architecture and sculpture which distinguish the French building.

EDMUND AIKIN.

Liverpool, February 10, 1818.

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